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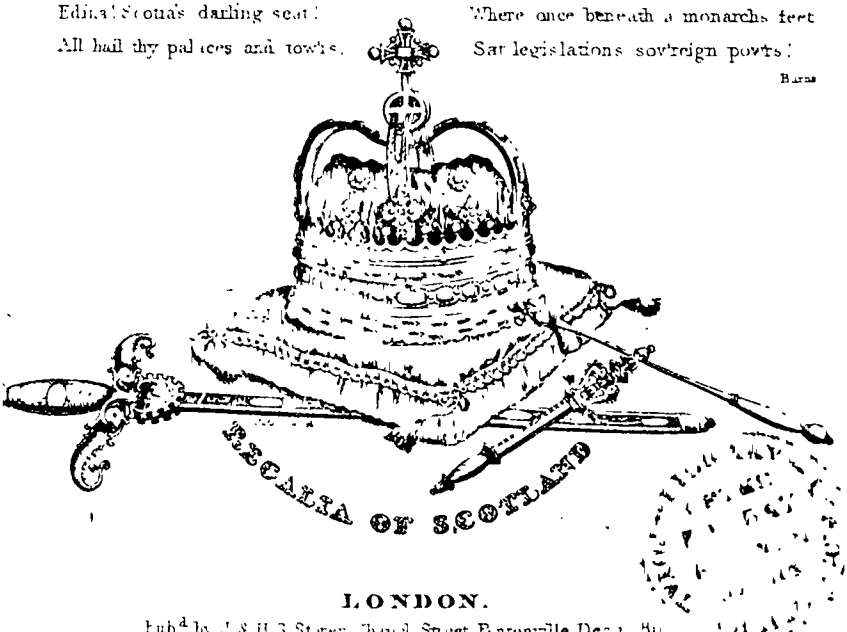
A
GRAPHIC
AND
HISTORICAL
Description of the
CITY OF
EDINBURGH.

Vol. I.

Edina! Scotia's darling seat!
All hail thy palaces and towers,
Where once beneath a monarchs feet
Sat legislations sovereign powrs!

Burns



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VIEWS IN

EDINBURGH

AND ITS

VICINITY;

DRAWN AND ENGRAVED BY J. & H. S. STORER,

EXHIBITING REMAINS OF

Antiquity,

PUBLIC BUILDINGS,

AND

PICTURESQUE SCENERY.

81157
S. d. 17

IN TWO VOLUMES,

VOL. I.

Published by A. CONSTABLE & Co. Edinburgh;

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PREFACE.

IN presenting the Public with Select Prospects of a City, which, viewed in regardto appropriate situation, architectural beauty, and the advantages it derives from a vicinity affording varied and almost unparalleled richness of scenery, holds a distinguished rank amongst the cities of Europe, little apology, it is hoped, will be found requisite. Most places of note in South Britain, have been made the subjects of innumerable delineations by eminent artists, who have spared no trouble nor expense in bringing them before the Public eye. VIEWS of EDINBURGH are only to be found in those small books published for the use of the traveller, and it may be supposed not given in the style of excellence calculated to convey any adequate idea of a great city. Those, indeed, which the useful and laborious work of Maitland contain, are far from contemptible; but the ponderous size and scarcity of the book, renders it accessible to few; and, besides, in an architectural point of view, the Metropolis of Scotland (when that author wrote), was in its infancy, compared with its present extended aspect.

The lover of antiquity will behold with satisfaction, correct representations of the ancient residences of the learned and the noble, who have long ceased to exist, except in the records of their country, and that fond remembrance which

tradition never fails to preserve in the hearts of a patriotic people. Those who feel no interest in contemplating the venerable remains of past ages, will doubtless be gratified by beholding the many new and magnificent structures which adorn the Scottish Capital, affording an interesting picture of a city emerging fast from comparative poverty, and advancing rapidly to commercial distinction and opulence.

The vicinity of EDINBURGH offers to the view so many striking beauties of scenery, and noble monuments of ancient and modern architecture, that a selection has been, in some degree, difficult; it is hoped, however, that its most distinguished features will be found faithfully delineated.

HISTORY

OF

EDINBURGH,

FROM ITS

EARLIEST STATE TO THE PRESENT TIME.

PART I.

ITS CIVIL AND POLITICAL TRANSACTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

From the Origin of Edinburgh to the Battle of Flowden.

Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, and a city of Mid Lothian, lies about three miles to the south of the Frith of Forth, and is situated in west long. 3°, and north lat. 56°.

The meaning of the word Edinburgh, and the origin of the city itself, are subjects on which there exists among antiquarians a variety of opinion, and which, notwithstanding all the elucidation of them, which both fancy and research have attempted to furnish, are still full of uncertainty. It is doubtful whether the name be Saxon, Pictish, or Gaelic. Some writers derive it from Eth, a king of the Picts; others suppose it to be the Gaelic word for Aidan, one of our kings who began to reign in the year 570, or a term in that language of similar orthography and sound which signifies *the face*, either of them in connection with *dun*, forming the compound *Dun-Edin*, i. e. *Aidan's-hill*, or *the brow of the hill*; and a third class deduce it from Edwin, a Saxon monarch, who in the year 617, overran the territories of the Picts. Of these theories the last seems to be the most

plausible. Simeon of Durham, an ancient and credible author, calls the city, now in question, by the name *Edwinesburch*, the literal translation of which is Edwin's Castle; and nearly the same designation is given to it in the charter granted by king David I. to the canons of Holyrood-house abbey. These authorities, however, though they go a great way to determine the source of the appellation, do not certainly ascertain the date of the origin of the castle or city, since we find that the expression *Castelh Mynyd Agned*, which in the British language signifies the fortress of the hill of St. Agnes, was applied to it at a still earlier period than the time of Edwin. The castle might have been called *Edwinesburg*, from its having been repaired by that king, or from his having occupied it as a temporary residence. It is reasonable to suppose, and the Celtic name Mai-dyn, by which it was very anciently known, converts the supposition almost into a certainty, that the natural advantages of such a situation, must have been soon considered by the inhabitants of that district of the country, as rendering it admirably adapted for being the site of a fortress, and that it would be devoted to this purpose at no very remote age, though in successive generations it might frequently change its name and appearance, as it was affected by the vicissitudes of war and the ravages of time.

The earliest notices that have been transmitted to us in an authentic shape, exclusively respect the castle, which must be very ancient. It would appear to be older, at least, than the town, both from the silence of history as to the latter, and from the pre-eminent importance which is attached to a place of defence, in a rude and warlike age. Our information in regard to the castle, extends so far back as the year 452, when it was taken by the Saxons from the Picts, who had previously to that time possessed it. About the year 626, Edwin the king of the Saxons, is said to have erected a fortress on the rock where the castle now stands, probably either rebuilding the former one, or strengthening by artificial means, a situation

which had hitherto owed its chief or sole security to nature. The Picts retook it in 685. In the year 854 those houses, which from the earliest period, it is likely, were at different times placed near the castle, for the sake of the protection and safety which it afforded, had amounted to a small town or village, to which the name of the castle might soon be transferred. It was in this century, that the Picts were a second time dispossessed of Edinburgh. Their conquerors, the Saxon kings of Northumberland, retained it till the year 956, when it was resigned to Indulph, king of Scotland. He reigning till 961 held it during that interval. We find it afterwards the property of Eadulph, a Northumbrian earl, who, however, was induced by fear of Malcolm II. and by an agreement which had taken place between them, to give up Lothian, and consequently Edinburgh, to that king. In 1093, Donald Bane, the usurper, made an unsuccessful attack on the castle. In that year also died in the castle Margaret, widow of Malcolm Canmore, and in commemoration of this event, a chapel was soon after erected there, to which Robert I. granted an annual income from the revenues of the town, a grant afterwards renewed by Robert II. Edgar, the son of Malcolm and Margaret, after a reign remarkable neither for duration nor importance, died also in the castle. During the reign of Alexander, who succeeded him, the only thing related of Edinburgh is, that he held it to be a town of the royal demesne. David, his brother, coming to the throne, raised the castle to considerable importance, by making it the seat of royalty; enlarged the town; built a church and mill in its neighbourhood, which were of great advantage to the inhabitants; and conferred a charter on the canons of Holyrood, in which he granted them very important privileges. From this charter, it should seem that Edinburgh was then a borough, though not properly a royal one. It would appear too from the charters of those times, that it was usual for the kings to reside in the castle of Edinburgh. Malcolm IV. successor to David, made it his frequent abode; Alexander II. often lodged

in it; and it was occasionally employed in the same way by William, sirnamed the Lion. In consequence of the defeat of William by Henry II. of England, it was surrendered to the English in the year 1174, for the purchase of the king's liberty, he having been taken prisoner. It was restored in 1186, as a portion with Ermengard, a cousin of Henry's, whom William married. In the year 1215, Alexander II. convened at Edinburgh the first parliament ever held in Scotland. The town was not much affected by the occurrences of this reign. Alexander III. held his courts in Edinburgh, and in his reign the castle began to be the depository of the records and regalia of the nation.

After the death of Alexander, the castle was surrendered to Edward I. In the course of this disastrous period of our national history, it underwent various revolutions, sometimes holding out against that monarch, and at other times used by him as a residence, and for receiving the homage of his Scottish vassals. It was recovered out of the hands of the English by Randolph, nephew of Robert Bruce. The parliaments of Robert Bruce met in Holyrood-house, the last of which convening on the 17th March 1327, was distinguished for ratifying the Northampton treaty, which had declared the independence of Scotland, and for admitting for the first time the representatives of boroughs among the estates. The castle was dismantled by Robert, that it might not be subservient to the purposes of his enemies; but towards the close of his reign he confirmed and extended by a charter, the privileges of the inhabitants of the town. It appears that their number was at this time greatly reduced by their intestine dissentions, and the exterminating warfare in which they had been so long engaged with England. On the 10th and 12th days of February 1333-4, Edward Baliol held in Holyrood-house a mock parliament, by which it was resolved that the independence of Scotland should be sacrificed to Edward III. of England, and that a great portion of the country, including, among other places,

the town and castle of Edinburgh, should be ceded to him. Edward accordingly was put in possession of the castle. In his absence, however, on an expedition to another quarter of Scotland, the Scots, under the earls of Murray and March, and sir William Ramsay, attempted its recapture, and, after a desperate encounter with the English on the castle hill, and in the streets, obliged them to capitulate. But it would appear that Edward regained it after his return; for we are informed, that he resided here during the autumn of the year 1335, rebuilt the castle which Bruce had demolished, and gave it in charge to John de Stryvelin, placing under his command a strong garrison. Sir A. Moray, the Guardian of Scotland, laid siege to it in 1337, but abandoned it soon after, and from no apparent cause, without accomplishing his purpose. It was possessed by the English during the three following years; but in 1341 they were deprived of it by a singular stratagem. A person of the name of Bullock going to the governor, told him that he was a merchant who had in a vessel at Leith a cargo of provisions to dispose of; they bargained, and Bullock promised to convey the articles to the castle on the ensuing day. At the time specified, twelve men, accompanied by the *soi-disant* merchant, and in the dress of sailors, came to the gate of the castle with the goods. Having put to death the porter and centinels, they were, agreeably to a previous plan, and at a particular signal, joined by sir William Douglas, who rushed in with a number of armed men, took possession of the castle, and put the garrison to the sword.

During the reign of David II., Edinburgh was considered the chief borough of Scotland, and was a common place of mintage. Out of its customs David gave a number of pensions. When Robert II. was king, the duke of Lancaster led an army against Edinburgh, but forbore to do any injury, on account of the hospitable reception which he had received there some time before, from the monks of Holyrood. On this occasion, the inhabitants used the precaution of unroofing their houses, which were covered with straw, and of removing their effects. The

town was pretty large and well peopled at this time, but involved in the disorders and miseries which war never fails to bring along with it. A considerable part of it was burned by Richard II. about this period, in consequence of which permission was given the inhabitants to build within the limits of the castle, in order to be secure from the depredations and cruelty of their enemies. In the time of Robert III. Edinburgh castle was repeatedly assaulted by Henry IV., but ably defended by the duke of Rothsay. Henry was the more lenient, because his father, as we have seen, had been kindly treated while a resident in Edinburgh. Various pensions, arising from the public funds, were bestowed in this reign on eminent individuals.

Under the regencies of Albany and his son Murdoch, and while James I. was a prisoner in England, Edinburgh was subjected to rapine and wretchedness. It contributed, however, 50,000 marks for the restoration of James, who, in gratitude for this kindness, frequently honoured Edinburgh with his presence. Here his queen was delivered of twins, an occasion of joy which was soon shaded by the ravages of a pestilence, that desolated the country during the following year. When James I. was murdered, his son fled to Edinburgh, which was deemed the most secure resort. Here he was crowned. The government was then settled in Edinburgh, to continue permanently there. During the years 1438, 1439, and 1440, Edinburgh was the seat of contention among the rulers of that age, who disputed about the possession of the king's person, and who endeavoured each to advance himself on the ruin of his rival, to the great disturbance, confusion, and hurt of the country. Chrichton, the chancellor, having through the crafty insinuations of Douglas, the king's favourite, been dismissed from office, shut himself up in the castle which he fortified, and which he defended so long and successfully against the king and Douglas, as to compel them to listen to his terms. It was then resigned, and soon after refitted in a splendid manner. In the year 1449, the marriage of James with Mary of Guilder, was

celebrated in a magnificent style in the capital. Edinburgh now became the seat of parliament in preference to all other towns. James was very liberal to Edinburgh, and in fact it never was more indebted to any of our kings. After his death Henry VI. sought refuge in Scotland, and was cordially received and kindly entertained by the widowed queen in Edinburgh.

In 1469, king James III. was married at Edinburgh to Margaret of Denmark. In 1475 a pestilence raged in Edinburgh, by which the parliament was prevented from meeting. The city in 1478 began to be infested with those unhappy disturbances which embittered the close of this king's reign, and brought on a war with England. In an attempt to repel his enemies, both Scots and English, his army dispersed, and he was brought to Edinburgh castle. The town opened its gates to Gloucester, the English leader, who spared it, but carried off a large booty, which he obtained under the pretext of having the consent of those from whom it was taken. He, however, soon retired, and a peace was concluded between the two nations. James having been imprisoned in the castle, whether voluntarily or by constraint, was now released, and reconciled, in appearance, to his brother Albany, who had taken an active part in the rebellion against him. It had been previously agreed that Edward's daughter should be married to the son of James, and with this view the king of England had advanced money for his daughter's portion. The citizens of Edinburgh now put it into his power either to prosecute the match, or receive back his money, and on his preferring the latter, honourably repaid him. James by grants and enactments greatly benefited and enriched the town, and for the loyalty shown, and the services done him by the inhabitants, conferred on them a banner, now called the blue blanket; to be in the keeping of the convener of the trades, under which they might afterwards rally in the support of their privileges, and in the protection of their king and country. In the year 1482, Albany having been made lieutenant-general of the kingdom,

and thus being put in possession of almost unlimited authority, attempted to seize the monarch, but was frustrated in his schemes by the king retiring into the castle, which was ably defended by the loyal exertions of the citizens. At last, however, the factious and rebellious spirit, which had so long threatened the overthrow of the government, and the destruction of the king, triumphed in the year 1488; for his majesty leaving Edinburgh to encounter his enemies, and to check their insubordination, was slain at Stirling-field, and the castle, with his treasures and jewels, was taken by the victors.

James IV. distinguished the capital by the entertainments which he frequently gave in it, and the splended tournaments which he held there, and to which the knights of all countries resorted. It was here too that he gave the celebrated dinner to the French ambassador on Christmas day, which though consisting of coarse fare, cost an immense sum. But these scenes of dissipation were, however, put a stop to by the plague, which scourged the city during the year 1513. The evil consequences of this calamity were aggravated by the dreadful catastrophe which befell Edinburgh and the nation, in the defeat of the Scottish army at Flowden, and in the death of the king, the flower of his nobility, and many of the principal citizens in Edinburgh. The news reached the town on the day after the battle, and filled the inhabitants with the greatest grief and dismay. The most prudent steps, however, were taken in this desperate crisis. All the inhabitants who were qualified to bear arms were commanded to be in readiness; twenty-four men were appointed a permanent guard, and it was enacted that £500 Scots should be raised for defraying the expences of purchasing artillery, and fortifying the town. But the peace which was made with England rendered these precautions unnecessary, and removed the anxiety and apprehensions of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, who still, however, were harassed with the plague, which continued to rage with great violence.

CHAPTER II.

From the Battle of Flowden to the Reformation.

The death of king James occasioned a change in the government. The administration of it devolved, in the first instance, on the queen dowager; but as, by afterwards marrying Angus, she was considered as having virtually resigned her authority, it was transferred to the duke of Albany. On his arrival at Edinburgh on the 26th of May, 1515, he was received with great pomp by the three estates of the kingdom, and by the queen who met him at Holyrood-house. On the 12th of July, the parliament having met at Edinburgh, he was inaugurated into the office of protector and governor of Scotland, and the three estates took an oath that they would be subject to him in that capacity, till the king should come of age. Some time after, when on a tour through the kingdom, he was informed that the queen designed to escape to England with her two infants; upon receiving this intelligence, he hastened to Edinburgh, and demanded them of the queen, who refused to give them up. Surprising, however, the castle of Stirling, to which they had been conveyed, he got possession of them, and placed them under the care of three noblemen in the castle of Edinburgh. In his absence, on a visit to France, the queen came to Edinburgh for the purpose of seeing her children; this gratification was refused her by D'Arcy, the lord warden of the kingdom, who, after lord Erskine had conveyed the children to Craigmellar Castle, under the pretext that they were in danger from the plague, but in reality to gratify the queen, ordered him back with them to Edinburgh, and precluded all access to them in future by the mother. She continued, however, to reside in Edinburgh, attempting, from time to time, but without success, to get divorced from Angus.

The castle at this time was a prison of state, as well as the residence of royalty; several noblemen, who had been engaged

in broils, having been successively incarcerated in it. Nor was the town without its share in the evils of that distracted period. By the collisions of the Hamiltons and Douglasses, whose principal leaders contended for the provostship, it was made a frequent scene of riot and disorder. The most remarkable affair of this nature that occurred was called *cleanse the causey*. Though the regent had published an edict, prohibiting any person connected with either of the above-mentioned parties, from competing for the office of provost, the earl of Arran presumed to interfere in one of the elections. Being obnoxious to the citizens, they shut the gates against him; a scuffle ensued, and the Hamiltons were driven from the town with the loss of seventy-two men. This bloody affray took place in the year 1520, at the time the parliament was about to assemble. For the purpose of suppressing this turbulent spirit, the town-council tried to augment the power and respectability of the provost, whom they provided for emergencies with four men armed with halberts, and paid, in addition to his usual salary, the sum of 100 merks Scots; but such means were quite ineffectual for the purpose which was intended to be accomplished by them, and the chief magistrate of Edinburgh was still unable to cope with the lawless and factious spirits of that age.

The regent returning from France in the following year, made a kind of triumphal entry into Edinburgh. He displaced the magistrate who had been put in by Angus. During the year 1523, after the truce with England, Henry VIII. sent a small squadron into the Forth, which, meeting with a firm resistance, returned without having accomplished any thing except the seizure of some ships. The parliament met at Edinburgh on the 18th of July, and at the instance of the king and regent, authorized the removal of the former, who was now eleven years of age, from Edinburgh to Stirling. Albany, having soon after quitted the kingdom for the last time, James, though but thirteen, assumed the management of affairs under the superintendence of

his mother. The nobility were convoked in Holyrood-house, and swore allegiance to him. One of the acts of his authority which respected Edinburgh, was the issuing of an order, that Francis Bothwell, then provost, should resign his office, which he accordingly did, under a protest at the same time that his conduct in this instance might not afterwards form a precedent, nor be considered as derogatory or prejudicial to the rights and privileges of the town.

About the year 1525, Angus seized the government, and, among other acts of despotism, appointed his uncle Archibald Douglass provost of Edinburgh, and principal searcher of the ports of Scotland: such was the power of this nobleman and his party, that under their protection the principal assassins of one M'Lellan of Bombie, who was murdered at the door of St. Giles's church, walked with impunity about the streets of Edinburgh during the sitting of parliament. Indeed, the influence of Angus was so great that the queen herself, before she would consent to come to the capital at this period, had to be assured by this personage of safety for herself and household while she resided there during the sitting of parliament, and for three days after its prorogation,—a circumstance that displays the general character of barbarity and misrule which pervaded that period.

Frequent attempts had been made, accompanied with bloodshed, to deliver James from his confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, to which Albany, who had obtained his person, subjected him, and which he bore with extreme impatience. At last, in the year 1528, he effected his escape himself, and was resorted to by the barons, when they were thus convinced that he was capable of acting independently. The Douglasses in revenge attempted to murder him, having met for that purpose at St. Leonard's chapel, near Edinburgh, but their designs were timeously discovered. In the year after his assumption of the government, he put an end to the disturbances which had so long afflicted the capital, by inflicting summary punishment

on the borderers, to whom chiefly these evils had been owing. In 1531, the king's advocate was made provost of Edinburgh, and held there a court of parliament.

The year 1532 is distinguished by one of the most important events in the annals of the metropolis. Several endeavours had previously to this time been made to give some form and stability to the administration of right, which were now consummated in the establishment of a college of justice,—the foundation of the present court of session. A standing jury was appointed for settling all matters of law and equity, with a president to be their organ. On the 13th of May, the lords of the articles laid the proposition for instituting this court before the parliament. It runs thus :—"Item, anent the second artickel concerning the order of justice; because our sovereign lord is maist desirous to have an permanent order of justice for the universal of all his lieges; and therefore tendis to institute an college of cunning and wise men for doing and administration of justice in all civil actions: and therefore thinke to be chosen certain persons maist convenient and qualified yair to, the number of fifteen persons, half spiritual, half temporal, with an president." In consequence of this institution, by which greater security was afforded to the lives and property of men, the town became a place of much greater resort than formerly. It was in this year, likewise, that the council offered the king 300 men completely armed, to attend him in his expeditions whenever he should require them.

On the 19th of May 1537, James arrived at Leith with Magdalene, eldest daughter of Francis, whom he had espoused in France. They were received with every demonstration of joy and attachment. She remained at Holyrood-house till the preparations were completed for her entry into Edinburgh, which soon after took place, with processions of great magnificence, and with every evidence of joy on the part of a loyal people. But these rejoicings speedily gave place to mourning and gloom, for only forty days intervened between the queen's nup-

tials and her funeral. The king, however, was married again in the following year. His second wife, Mary of Guise, entered Edinburgh in July, and was welcomed with rich presents and glad acclamations. Farces and plays were performed in honour of this joyous occurrence. We find, however, that owing to those expensive entertainments, "the city cash had run so low at this time as to render it necessary for the council to mortgage the northern vault of the Netherbow port, for the sum of 100 merks Scots, to repair the said port or gate withal." And in the year 1541, the funds of the city seem to have been in a similar state of exhaustion: the inhabitants having been under the necessity of borrowing from the king 100 merks Scots, for the purpose of keeping in repair the king's park wall at Holyrood-house,—a duty which was imposed on them, probably in consequence of the privilege with which they were favoured of taking stones out of that park for paving the streets.

In 1543 there was a disturbance in the city, which had its origin in a dispute between the merchants and craftsmen. The power of electing magistrates had for a long time been exclusively in the hands of the former, which naturally excited the envy of the latter. On the 12th of August their irritation was strengthened and called into action by a law encroaching on their rights, which was passed by the magistrates. In the town-house the deacons of the trades drew their swords to shew that they had been injured, and that they were determined to have redress, upon which they were seized by an armed force, and imprisoned. The craftsmen then assembled, and drew up to rescue and support the deacons; but when the matter was beginning to wear a serious aspect, it was put an end to, and a reconciliation effected by the interposition of the regent Arran.

After the death of the king, which happened in the year 1542, Henry VIII. entered into a negociation, the object of which was to obtain Mary as a wife for his son; but from the want of patience and faith which he manifested, the governor and town-council conceived themselves justifiable in breaking

off the treaty. The king of England, however, resolving to accomplish by force what he could not attain by peaceable means, sent first the earl of Hertford with a fleet in 1544, and afterwards the duke of Somerset with an army, which defeated the Scots at Pinky. The latter commander, though he plundered Edinburgh after this victory, was more merciful than the former; who after landing his troops at Leith, and being informed that the Scottish nation would suffer every disaster before they would submit to his ignominious terms, gave up Leith and Edinburgh, which made little resistance, to pillage, and then to the flames. The surrounding villages and country were then laid waste, and a large booty conveyed from them into the English ships. Amid the terror, however, which this desolating army had excited throughout the country, Hertford suddenly re-imbarked part of his troops, and sent the remainder over-land to England.

A reinforcement in the year 1548 arrived from France, whose services were not necessary, as the English had taken their departure. If we except the works which they threw up at Inveresk, and for the erection of which the people of Edinburgh were required to furnish 300 workmen with proper tools for six days; these French soldiers procured no advantage to the nation, but were rather injurious to it, by the bloody tumults which their disagreements with the inhabitants of Edinburgh, where they lodged for one winter, perpetually occasioned. The whole war, in fact, while it was useless to the English, who did not, after all, effect the design of it, was most wasteful and ruinous to Scotland.

Notwithstanding the poverty to which the nation had been reduced by the war with England, we find that the Spanish ambassador was entertained at Edinburgh in the year 1555, at an expense of £25. 17*s*. 1*d*. Scots.

CHAPTER III.

From the Reformation to the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland.

As the proceedings of the Reformation come in with more propriety under the head of the ecclesiastical history of Edinburgh, a few notices of the history of the city during this time, are all that are here required.

In 1556, the town-council increased the allowance of the provost to £100 Scots, for *cloathing and spicery*, with two hogsheads of wine; and ordered the servants of all the inhabitants to attend him with torches from vespers to his residence.

Mary was espoused at Paris to Francis, the dauphin of France, in 1558. On this occasion the magistrates favoured the inhabitants with a theatrical treat. An invasion from England being dreaded, the merchants agreed to raise and maintain 736 men completely furnished with military accoutrements, and nearly the same number was provided by the craftsmen. In this year the queen was presented by the magistrates with three tons of the best wine, and twenty pounds of wax. The particular reason of this gift is not apparent.

The power of the provost was augmented by the interest and patronage of the queen-regent, and was exercised occasionally in a very despotic manner, especially on those who professed their attachment to the reformed religion. He imprisoned at one time two of the magistrates, without assigning a reason,—and on another occasion, when he had to leave Edinburgh for some time, he gave orders for the commitment of certain persons to prison, informing the baileys, whom he had appointed to perform this office, of his resolution to inflict a similar punishment upon them if they neglected his commands. But, fortunately, he was soon after deprived of his authority, as the queen-regent was unable any longer to sup-

port her party. About this time, the craftsmen, assisted by her influence, aspired to a vote in the town-council; but owing to the opposition made to them by the merchants, they were not successful.

The queen-regent dying, the government was left to the care of the lords of the congregation, as they were called, who were the principal and associated patrons of the Reformation. Deputies from France and England met at Edinburgh, and agreed to two treaties, which provided for the removal of the French troops, that had been employed in the support of the old religion, and for a peace between England and France. This treaty was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 6th of July 1560; and partial tranquillity was thus restored to the kingdom; a parliament met at Edinburgh on the 1st of August, the usual formalities were dispensed with, and a great part of their time was consumed in disputes as to the legality of the meeting. The objections on this score, however, having been over-ruled, they proceeded to act on the treaty, and passed various laws favourable to the Reformation. They set aside the former establishment, formed another, and made a confession of faith for its regulation. A deputy was appointed to go to France with the intelligence of these transactions, and with a view to procure for them the sanction of Francis and Mary. But they, in place of approving the proceedings of parliament, heard of them with the utmost indignation, and spurned the messenger who related them. The Reformation had introduced a spirit of improvement in religion and morals; a practice, therefore, which had long been persisted in of holding markets on Sundays, and of engaging in recreations on that day, was now abolished by an act of council. Markets were fixed for other days of the week, and the inhabitants were prohibited from opening their shops during the hours of divine service; women were forbidden to keep taverns, a custom which had promoted licentiousness; very wholesome and severe laws were enacted

against vices of this nature. Persons chargeable with them were, for the first fault, carried disgracefully through the town; banished the town or branded on the cheek with an ignominious mark for the second; and for a third offence punished with death. It was to the execution of the first of these laws on the person of the deacon of the butchers that a great disturbance which happened about this time was owing. He was *carted* through the streets, and then committed to prison. The corporation, indignant at this affront cast upon their order, proceeded to the jail, from which they forcibly liberated the prisoner. The magistrates, strengthened by the authority of the privy council, procured the incarceration, in the castle, of those craftsmen who had been most prominent in the disturbance; but the deacons expressing their regret for what had occurred, and interceding in behalf of the prisoners, they were released. Here this unpleasant affair ended.

The magistrates having ordered both protestants and papists to attend the reformed church, the latter complied, but attempted, at the same time, to seduce the young converts. The magistrates on this account made a proclamation, ordering both priests and laity of the catholic church to quit the town within the space of forty-eight hours, together with all adulterers and fornicators. The queen, provoked at this exercise of assumed authority on the part of the magistrates, and at the disrespect shewn to her religion, both by the character and manner of the proclamation, sent a letter to the council, complaining of their conduct. The papists, confiding in the queen, disregarded the order of the magistrates; and the town-council, on the other hand, shewed their want of respect for the queen, by renewing their proclamation, only limiting the time to twenty-four hours, within which space all papists were to leave Edinburgh, on pain of being carted, burnt on the cheek, and banished the city for ever. Mary, still more offended at this outrage upon her prerogative, gave orders to the council and community to divest the magistrates of their offices. In doing this, however, they

outstepped their commission; for they not only deposed one set of magistrates, but, without waiting for further directions from the queen, proceeded to elect others in their room; but they soon appeased her rage on this account, by offering to choose other magistrates more to her liking.

An insurrection about this time took place among the apprentices. On the 11th of April a great number of them, tumultuously entering the city with banners flying, assaulted the magistrates in the discharge of their duties. But the most active of these being apprehended and secured, a stop was put to any further proceedings. In the following month, however, the city was disgraced by a similar disturbance. The common people, when about to engage in their *may-games*, were deprived by the magistrates of their swords and ensigns. This gave rise to a tumult. The people got possession of the city-gates, but on having their ensigns restored to them, they were appeased, and were proceeding again with their amusements; when the magistrates having arrested one Balen for his concern in this affray, and erected a gibbet for his execution, a still greater tumult was excited. The enraged mob rescued the prisoner, and besieging the magistrates in the town-house, would not relieve them till they had bound themselves not to prosecute in future any who were engaged in such riots.

In the same month a convention was held at Edinburgh, without doing any thing of importance that has come down to our knowledge. The magistrates took the precaution on this occasion of commanding the citizens to be in arms; and employing a party of horse, for which service each soldier received five shillings Scots per day.

Francis, the husband of Mary, having died, James Stewart, prior of St. Andrew's, was appointed to repair to his sister, the queen, and to request her immediate return to Scotland. Accordingly, on the 9th of August, 1561, Mary arrived at Leith, and was exultingly received. The nobles and tradesmen alike testified their joy. Musicians were employed to serenade her,

affording melody which she told them she liked well, and desired might be continued some nights after. On the 31st of August, she made her public entry into Edinburgh. Splendid preparations had been made. The common council had given orders to raise 4000 merks Scots for providing a banquet and defraying the expense of a procession. A triumphal car was made, a canopy procured for being placed over the head of the queen, and velvet and satin dresses provided for the citizens who were to attend the procession, and those streets through which the cavalcade was to pass were decorated in a manner befitting such a magnificent ceremony. The queen, and her relations the French princes, were entertained with a dinner in the castle, on their leaving which, a boy was let down from a cloud, who delivered to the queen a bible, a psalter, the keys of the castle, together with some verses, and "terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters." On the 6th of September 1561, Mary appointed her privy council, and placed lord James Stewart at the head of her administration. After thus arranging her government, she set out from Edinburgh to visit the principal towns of Scotland.

Some months afterwards, the Tolbooth, or Town-house, agreeably to an order of the queen obtained by the council, was taken down, and a new one built at the western end of St. Giles's, in which the college of justice might hold its meetings. But so slowly did the erection go forward, that the lords of session threatened to remove the court to St. Andrews, if they were not speedily accommodated with a place for their meetings. In consequence of this threat, greater dispatch was used, and the required building soon completed. The expense, in place of being defrayed by the public in general, for whose benefit the erection was intended, fell wholly on the town,—a circumstance of injustice, which gave great offence to the inhabitants. Whether from the discontent thus produced, rather than from a scuffle which had taken place in the streets between lord Ogilvy and sir John Gordon, or, from both these and some

other causes, the privy-council dreaded an insurrection. Having imparted their suspicions to the magistrates, the latter, with great promptness, took the necessary measures to prevent such an occurrence. This had the desired effect, and the magistrates were honoured with a letter from the queen, in which she expressed her warmest thanks to them for having by their prudent and energetic conduct preserved the tranquillity of the capital.

Such was the antipathy which the Reformation had produced in the minds of the people to every relic of popery, that the picture of St. Giles, which had been placed in the town-standard, was, by an order of the council, now effaced from it, and the thistle substituted. About the same time it was enacted, that no person should fill any public or civil office who was not a friend to the cause of Reformation, and that those who were convicted of the crime of fornication, should undergo a ducking operation, in a certain place of the Northloch, where a pillar was erected for the purpose.

In the year 1564, sir James Carvet was apprehended for having, contrary to law, celebrated mass, and was punished, both before and after his trial, by the inhabitants, who placed him on a sort of pillory, and pelted him with rotten eggs. The queen was exasperated at this insult upon her religion, and was resolved that it should not pass with impunity; she accordingly sent notice to her friends in various parts of the country, requesting them to march with their respective forces to Edinburgh, and reduce its inhabitants to a sense of their duty. In these alarming circumstances, the magistrates sent a deputation to Stirling to wait upon her, and to give a true statement of the affair. This having the effect of vindicating the magistrates, and being corroborated by her own advocate, whom she had employed to inquire into the circumstance, she was pleased to countermand the march of the troops to Edinburgh; but soon after ordered the provost to be degraded from his situation, and another person to be elected in his room.

On the 28th of July 1565, Darnley was proclaimed king at the market cross of Edinburgh, and on the following day he was married to the queen, notwithstanding the opposition which had been made to it by Murray, the assembly of the kirk, and by the town of Edinburgh, in which an insurrection broke out against it. This event occasioned a rupture between Mary and the friends of Reformation, some of whom were banished to France, and others went to England. After the parliament, however, which met in March 1566, Murray and his adherents returned to Edinburgh, and offered themselves for trial. It was about this time that Rizzio, the secretary of Mary, was murdered in Holy-rood house. Mary, soon after this event, retired with Darnley to Dunbar, whence she immediately returned to Edinburgh, with a considerable force, and took possession of the city, expelling the assassins, and pardoning Murray and his friends. On the 19th of June 1566, she was delivered of her son, James, in the castle. This glad event was celebrated by illuminations.

The next remarkable event, by which the metropolis was affected, was the murder of Darnley. It was in consequence of this that the association called the solemn league and covenant was formed, the object of which was to revenge the king's murder, and to secure the person of the prince from the designs of Bothwell, the reputed murderer. To this association the council of Edinburgh attached themselves; and, in pursuance of its object, as well as for their own safety, ordered the town-wall to be repaired and mounted with artillery, commanded the citizens to provide themselves with arms in case of an attack, and entered into a contract with the governor for their mutual defence. Troops assembled at Edinburgh, and proceeded to Musselburgh, to oppose the queen and Bothwell; but the former, entering into a treaty with the associated lords, was brought back to Edinburgh, where she was treated with every mark of insult by the populace. She was conducted to the provost's house, whence the craftsmen, sympathizing in

her misfortunes, proposed to rescue her, but they were persuaded by the associated nobles not to make the attempt. She was afterwards carried to Lochleven castle, where she signed a resignation of her sceptre. James was crowned king of Scotland in a few days after her resignation. Three of the town-council represented the city at the coronation. On the 15th December 1567, the three estates assembled at Edinburgh in the town-hall. By an act passed at this time the resignation of Mary was legalized, and the coronation of her son recognized as constitutional.

The escape of Mary on the 2nd of May 1568, produced a change of affairs. The regent prepared to meet her in battle. The magistrates of Edinburgh put the city in a state of defence, and placed over it a guard. But the battle of Langside decided against the queen, and she was obliged to fly to Elizabeth for protection. A parliament was called for the purpose of punishing by fine those who had taken arms against the regent, and the deacons of Edinburgh were ordered by the magistrates to assemble their respective trades, in order to ascertain by oath to which side they belonged. During the meeting of parliament, the city was in arms to prevent any bad consequences from the inflamed passions of angry senators. A pestilence, which at this period raged within the city, combined with the discords of faction to make the metropolis a scene of great confusion and misery.

By the unexpected assassination of the regent, which was perpetrated by Hamilton, of Bothwelhaugh, at Linlithgow, on the 21st of January 1569-70, Edinburgh was thrown into great perturbation. A strong guard was ordered to be kept night and day. Alarmed by this event, the senators of the college of justice proposed leaving the capital. This, however, seems to have been prevented by the importunity of the town-council, who sent a deputation of their members to request the lord chancellor to use his influence in hindering their departure, promising, as an inducement to them to remain, their

utmost assistance in the king's affairs, and speedily to revenge the murder of the regent.

The queen's party having marched from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, and Kirkaldy the governor of the castle and provost of the town, of Edinburgh, having obtained their admission within the walls, a civil war commenced. In May 1571 two parliaments were held at Edinburgh; the king's in the Canongate, and the queen's in the Tolbooth. Forfeitures were made against each other within, while the adherents of the opposite parties engaged in scuffles without. The castle was held for the queen by the able exertions of the governor, and Lennox occupied Holy-rood house for the king. The city belonged alternately to the one party and to the other, the inhabitants being thus subjected to a twofold calamity. In 1570, an army of 1000 foot and 300 horse, under the command of sir William Drury, arrived from England, and summoned the castle to surrender. For two years a predatory warfare was carried on, which was succeeded by a truce. In this interval, the earl of Morton, then regent, built two bulwarks across the High-street, near the Tolbooth, with the design of defending the town by them from the fire of the castle. At the expiration of the truce, the governor commenced a cannonade, by which several people were killed, and others dangerously wounded, and some houses burnt to the ground. A treaty was agreed upon by the leaders of the opposite parties, to which Kirkaldy refused to accede. The regent having procured 1500 foot, and a train of artillery from Elizabeth, sir W. Drury, their commander, summoned Kirkaldy to surrender, but was answered only by signs of defiance. Five batteries were then raised against the castle, and the siege vigorously carried on. The fort was defended with the utmost determination and gallantry; but, after a noble defence of thirty-three days, the garrison would no longer hold out, and Kirkaldy was reluctantly compelled to capitulate, having first been assured by the English general of safety to himself and friends. But Morton,

whose castle had been demolished by Kirkaldy, could not forgive him for that action, and ordered him to be hanged on the 3d of August, at the cross of Edinburgh.

The trades of Leith having taken it upon them to choose deacons for themselves, the latter, for this usurpation of independence in an unfree town, were summoned to appear before the common council of Edinburgh to answer for their conduct. They obeyed the summons, and were committed to prison, where they were required to remain until they should relinquish all pretensions to the titles and privileges which they had assumed to themselves. Alarmed at these proceedings, the inhabitants of Leith appointed a deputy to wait upon the council, and to intimate their willingness entirely to submit to its authority. A decree was then passed, defining the power of the citizens over their neighbours of Leith, and declaring it incompetent for the latter to lay claim to the appellations and offices of the former.

Morton was now established in the regency; but the deeds of cruelty and rapacity by which his administration was marked, rendered him an object of detestation and odium to the nation; and the united influence of popular opinion, and of the hatred felt for him by the nobles, compelled him to resign his authority. James, himself, then began to manage the public affairs. At the commencement of his reign, he honoured the inhabitants of Edinburgh with special tokens of his favour and gratitude, in return for their performance of services, which had indicated their attachment to his person, and their loyalty to his government. After the resignation of Morton, the castle of Edinburgh, which was held for him by his brother, was called upon to surrender; but that person resolved to sustain a siege before he would submit. A slight engagement in consequence took place. Some of his party, whom he had dispatched for the purpose of buying provisions, were intercepted on their return; the articles which they were carrying taken from them, and some of the soldiers wounded. But Morton

having soon after received a pardon, the castle was yielded up by the governor. With this state of things, however, the ambitious mind of Morton was not to be satisfied. Coming unexpectedly on the garrison at Stirling, he took possession of it, and obtained the custody of the king's person.

The king disliked very much the thraldom to which he was subjected. Attempts were made to rescue him. Several noblemen with this design collected a considerable force; but they failed to procure the concurrence of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, whom they twice in vain ordered to come to their assistance. This firm and resolute spirit was evinced by the citizens on another occasion likewise; for, when at the instigation of Morton, a command was issued by the king, requiring them to elect particular magistrates of his nomination, they indignantly spurned the proposal.

Becoming very impatient under his confinement, the king complained to the chancellor, and requested him to use means for his release. As the information with respect to his majesty's situation reached Edinburgh about the same time that an ambassador from England arrived, the citizens began to suspect that their sovereign was in perilous circumstances, and betook themselves to arms, raising the cry that Morton had sold them to the English, and that he was to deliver up the king to Elizabeth. A herald sent by Morton brought orders soon after in the king's name to apprehend those who had taken arms. In these conflicting circumstances, the provost was uncertain how to act, and repaired to Stirling for more determinate commands. For this journey he was rewarded with imprisonment in the castle of Down. An accommodation, however, speedily followed, and the provost was set at liberty.

The king issued a requisition for a parliament to convene at Edinburgh in October 1579, and removed from Sterling to the capital for the purpose of attending it. On his entrance into the city, he was received with a splendid welcome by its joyful inhabitants, who had for the occasion put on their best at-

tire, and decorated the streets with tapestry and arras-work. On his reaching the land-gate, the townsmen met him in arms, and the guns of the castle were fired. He then passed on to Holyrood-house, accompanied by 200 horse. Great rejoicings ensued in the city, and the parliament was held in the Tolbooth, where it continued to sit for some weeks.

Morton had, in the mean time, been sinking in the estimation of the king. In December 1580, he was arraigned before the privy-council for the murder of Darnley. In case he might, as the last resource of a revengeful and despairing spirit, make an attempt upon the life of the king, the latter applied to the town-council for a guard to protect his person. Accordingly, a hundred hackbutters were appointed to attend him within the palace of Holyrood, and an equal number of the citizens was added for guarding his residence by night. Two hundred hackbutters were also raised to convey Morton from Edinburgh castle to that of Dumbarton, where he was condemned to lose his head. Subsequently, the king had a permanent guard of thirty persons, who were inhabitants of Edinburgh, and paid by the town.

Such, in those times, was the inefficiency of the law, that the king could not go abroad without being exposed to attempts upon him by his nobles, in whose power it sometimes was, when they had any particular ends to serve, to seize him as their property. An instance was afforded about this time in the detention of James by the earl of Gowry and other noblemen, when his majesty was on a visit to the former at his castle of Ruthven. They committed him to close confinement, prevailed upon him to expel from his presence the duke of Lennox, and affected to assume the regulation of the kingdom. Lennox, coming to Edinburgh, made known the condition of the king to the magistrates, and requested that they would join with him in endeavouring to procure the assistance of the barons for his enlargement. To this application they made answer, that they could not with propriety write to the barons;

but that if he did so, they would beg of them to bring only their domestics to Edinburgh; and that it was their resolution, on their being more fully assured of the fact of their king's imprisonment, to spare no expense, and to shrink from no danger, by which his deliverance might be effected. A letter was soon after received from his majesty, in which, making no reference to any thing extraordinary in regard to himself, he merely enjoined upon them the preservation of tranquillity, exhorted them not to take arms at the instigation of any person, and recommended to guard well the town for fear of a foreign assault. The magistrates, in reply, having imparted to him the information which they had received from Lennox, were assured, in a second letter from the king, that he was at perfect liberty, and that it was his intention to pay an early visit to the metropolis. About the same time, they were applied to by Gowry and his coadjutors to put into the magistracy certain persons whom they mentioned. To their honour, however, be it recorded, that, low as the spirit of liberty and independence had sunk, the council were determined to preserve sacred the small portion which yet remained; and, alarmed at the prospect of the renewed surrender of their rights to the arbitration of every faction that might arise, they refused to accede to the degrading proposal. They declared, that choosing whomsoever they pleased for their provost, he should be one who would consult the interests of the city, and one for whose conduct they would pledge themselves to be responsible. This spirited answer not satisfying the king, he sent them two letters, the purport of which was, that they should continue their provost in office, and elect for baillies such as were attached to his person, and those who were named in a list which he transmitted to them.

The conspirators now carried the king to Edinburgh. The ministers came out to meet him, and, as the procession moved along the streets a psalm was sung, expressive of the joy of the multitude at the dangers escaped, and the advan-

tages possessed, in the captivity of the king. The extraordinary event of regal bondage soon spread over all Europe. The feelings of Mary were much afflicted by the intelligence. The French court, sympathizing with James, sent an ambassador to attempt his emancipation. This ambassador was ill received by the clergy and nobility. For such treatment, the king was desirous of compensating, and requested the magistrates to give him an entertainment. A day accordingly was appointed for this entertainment, but the clergy, on their part, announced a fast, and censured, in a series of addresses from the pulpit, the conduct of the magistrates and nobles. Notwithstanding this opposition, the banquet took place at the appointed time, and cost £162: 10: 9 Scots.

On the 27th of June 1583, the king emancipated himself from slavery. Gowry was then pardoned, but afterwards suffered death at Stirling, for having a second time involved himself in a conspiracy against his sovereign. The city of Edinburgh rose in defence of the king. Several insurrections occurred, but they were quelled, without having produced any serious effects.

In the opinion of James, the power of the clergy had now overstepped its limits, and he was determined to curb it. With this view, he called a parliament on the 22d of May 1584. A guard of forty gentlemen, well mounted, whose duty it was to wait on the king, and who were to receive for their services an annuity of £200 each, was now set on foot. The governor, too, of the castle, had a handsome salary allowed him; and to give greater respectability to the provost, it was decreed by the town-council that he should henceforth, during the sitting of parliament, be attended to and from the Tolbooth and Holyrood house by twenty of the principal citizens. There were passed at this meeting of parliament various acts, which went to establish the king's power over all estates and subjects; to prohibit all conventions or jurisdictions from taking place without the king's permission; to disqualify clergymen to be senators of the college of justice, advocates, or notaries;

and to provide suitable punishment for slanders against the king, his family, or his government. These proceedings giving great offence to the clergy, some of their number, during their progress, attempted to get admission into the parliament-house, the doors of which were shut against them. They protested, however, against the enactments, when they were proclaimed at the cross; but apprehensive that their lives were in jeopardy, they soon after retired to Berwick, from which place they ever and anon transmitted letters to the magistracy. James still continued to interfere at elections, but his influence was much diminished, and his authority frequently disregarded.

But dictation at elections was not the only evil which the tyranny of James inflicted on the inhabitants. There was another species of oppression to which they were subjected, consisting in their being obliged, whenever the king required it, which was very often, to give costly entertainments to ambassadors from foreign countries. Now, the French ambassador is treated with a dinner, and, then, their graces of Navarre, Holland, &c. On occasion of the king's marriage to Anne of Denmark, the citizens were ordered to support her and her retinue in a magnificent style till Holyrood-house should be fitted up for her reception. At one time, when called upon to entertain the two sisters of the duke of Lennox, just arrived from France, they rather demurred; and, in excuse, pleaded the exhausted state of their finances, occasioned by their expenditure for the behoof of the royal affairs. This, however, had no effect; and after the rejection of a proposal which they had made, to advance a certain sum of money in place of the required support, they had to give in to the wishes of the king.

On the king's reaching his majority, a parliament was convened on the 29th of July 1587, at which the acts formerly made were confirmed, and various new ones relating to domestic economy passed. About this time, James gave a royal

banquet in Holyrood-house. Wishing to reconcile to each other the contentious nobles, he caused them to walk hand in hand in a procession which he appointed for the occasion; and with the same conciliatory views the magistrates entertained the king and nobles at the market cross.

In the following year, the Spanish armada made its appearance off the Scottish coast, an occurrence which occasioned considerable alarm. Preparations, however, were made for opposing it. The citizens were ordered to provide themselves with arms, and 300 men besides were raised for the defence of the town.

The marriage of the king was a source of intrigue to Elizabeth, who wished, by gaining over the ministers, to procure its frustration. As a counterpoise to this influence, James secretly attached to his side the individuals who were at the head of the trades, and incited them to insult the chancellor and other counsellors. The consequence of this was, that the latter had to dispatch commissioners to Denmark to negotiate the match. In the mean time, the king gave peremptory orders to the magistrates to make suitable preparations for the reception of the bride; and after learning that she had been driven back by a storm, he obliged them to supply him with a ship, in which he himself sailed to Denmark, and transported his queen to Scotland. They arrived at Leith on the 1st of May 1590. The ministers objected to her coronation, on the ground that the rite of unction was not proper; but the king overpowered these objections, by threatening to get the ceremony performed by a bishop, and, accordingly, the queen was solemnly crowned on the 7th of May, with the accustomed rites, in the abbey church of Holyrood. She made her public entry into Edinburgh on the 19th, and the marriage was a second time solemnized in St. Giles's church. On this occasion, she was presented by the magistrates with a rich jewel, which the king had deposited with them as a security for a considerable sum that he owed them, and they thus generously took the

royal promise as a sufficient pledge of payment. Great feasting and rejoicings followed, which continued for a month, when the strangers departed, loaded with rich presents. Oppressive as the enormous expenses thus contracted were to the citizens of Edinburgh, and liberal as their conduct had been on this occasion, the king appears neither to have sympathized in the one, nor to have been grateful for the other; for, he shortly after compelled them to take from him the sum of £40,000, Scottish money, which was part of his queen's portion, and to pay for it double the rate of interest, at which, from the excellence of their credit, they could have borrowed money in any other quarter.

A daring attempt on the life of the king was made on the 27th of December in the same year. The earl of Bothwell broke into the palace at the hour of supper, and tried to set fire to the king's apartments; but a number of armed citizens repairing to the palace, he was compelled to flee, not, however, till he had killed some of the king's domestics. Eight of his accomplices were executed on the following day. He, himself, lived to be forfeited by parliament in 1593, and to be the cause of much disturbance to the state.

In 1593, the king began again to interfere in the politics of the city of Edinburgh, nominating what persons should be elected to the magistracy. This officious conduct was partially resisted; but James having published a list of those whom he wished to be elected, under pain of rebellion, and having declared null those acts of parliament which stood in the way of his purpose, the citizens seem to have yielded to his wishes. He did not, however, stop here; but encouraged by their submissive spirit, issued an order that no person should repair to Edinburgh without his special permission,—an act of arbitrary and capricious authority, which occasioned great grief to his subjects, who, it appears, had not spirit enough to be affected in a different way.

On the birth of prince Henry in February 1594, the town-

council presented the king with ten tuns of wine for the christening of his heir, and sent to Stirling a hundred of the citizens richly accoutred to be present on that occasion. To a ceremony of the same kind, which took place about two years after, the magistrates were invited; and their hearts having, it would appear, been warmed by this expression of condescending attention, they engaged to give the princess £10,000 merks on her wedding-day,—an engagement which they honourably fulfilled, adding 5,000 merks to the sum which they had promised.

The imbecility of the government about this period was evinced by tumults, which it was in the power of the earl of Bothwell, with impunity, repeatedly to excite. Against the violence of this person, the king had to be protected by a guard of fifty citizens, which was furnished him by the town-council. Even the boys of the high school appear to have been sensible of the feebleness of the administration, having had the audacity to engage in a rebellion, in which one of the magistrates was shot from the school-house.

The time which elapsed between this period, and the accession of James to the English throne, was chiefly occupied in ecclesiastical matters, which shall be considered in another place. The only occurrences worthy of being named were the conspiracy of Gowry, and the change of the year from the 25th of March to the 1st of January. This alteration in the commencement of the year took place in direct opposition to the recommendation of Ovid, in these words:

> ——— frigoribus quare novus incipit annus,
> Qui melius per ver incipiendus erat?

When intelligence of the other event referred to reached Edinburgh, a sermon was preached at the cross, and the people, on their knees, gave thanks to God for the king's deliverance. The king arriving soon after, publicly confirmed the circum-

stances of the affair; but the clergy would not believe that any such thing had happened; and were rewarded for their incredulity by being banished from the city, and prohibited from preaching or approaching within ten miles of the king's residence on pain of death. Four of these ministers, however, afterwards declared their conviction of the truth of the conspiracy, and were pardoned. The other one, Mr. Robert Bruce, continuing sceptical, was banished from Scotland, and went to France. The dead bodies of the earl of Gowry and his brother, were conveyed from Perth to Edinburgh, where they were hung up at the market-cross as traitors. James now enjoyed some years of tranquillity till the death of Elizabeth, which happened on the 24th of March, 1603, and in consequence of which he was on the following day proclaimed king of England. This event was made known in Edinburgh by various messengers, and produced a tumult of emotion in the mind of James, under which he behaved with great propriety.

On the 31st of March the news was proclaimed at the cross by the secretary Elphinstone, and re-echoed by sir David Lindsay, the lion king, to the assembled nobility. Before leaving Scotland, the king delivered a speech to a numerous congregation in St. Giles's, in which he promised to defend the faith, and revisit his native country every three years. He took his departure for England on the 5th of April 1603.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Union of the Crowns to the Revolution.

THE accession of James to the throne of England did not make him forget his native country and city. Anxious to prevent his nobles from intermeddling with burgh politics, he, in September 1608, by letter, reminded the magistrates of Edinburgh, that, in the election of a provost, they were precluded by a particular law from choosing any person who was not a citizen. Nor was he inattentive to less important matters which respected them; for he gave orders that, henceforth, a sword should be carried before the provost, and that the magistrates should be provided with gowns, circumstances of external shew which had not before his time been attended to. At last, to complete his gracious attentions, he honoured them with a visit, arriving on the 16th of May, 1616, at the West Port, where he was received by the magistrates and by some of the citizens, the former in their gowns, and the latter in their velvet habits. The town-clerk was appointed to address him, which he did in a highly complimentary strain. "This," he said, "is that happy day of our new birth, ever to be retained in fresh memory, acknowledged with admiration, admired with love, and loved with joy; wherein our eyes behold the greatest human felicity our hearts could wish; which is to feed upon the royal countenance of our true phœnix, the bright star of our northern firmament, the ornament of our age, wherein we are refreshed, yea, revived with the heat and beams of our sun (the powerful adamant of our wealth), by whose removing from our hemisphere we were darkened, deep sorrow and fear possessed our hearts; without envying your majesty's happiness and felicity, our places of solace, ever giving new heat to the fever of the languishing remembrance

of our happiness: the very hills and groves, accustomed before to be refreshed with the dew of your majesty's presence, not putting on their wonted apparel, but, with pale looks, representing their misery for the departure of their royal king." The orator then goes on "to beseech, on the very knees of his heart, that his obedience to his superior's command may be a sacrifice acceptable to expiate his presumption on taking upon him to address his sacred majesty, to acknowledge the infinite blessings plenteously flowing to the citizens from the paradise of his majesty's unspotted goodness and virtue," and "to wish that his majesty's eyes might pierce into their very hearts, there to behold the excessive joy inwardly conceived, &c." After this brilliant speech, a banquet was served up, and 10,000 merks were presented to him in a silver basin. The king at this time held his two-and-twentieth parliament, at which acts were passed "for the election of archbishops and bishops," and "for the restitution of chapters;" commissioners appointed "for the plantation of kirks;" and several statutes enacted on the subject of domestic economy.

Being at Edinburgh, the king, in order to shew his learning, invited to Stirling castle the members of the college to a disputation upon some given subjects. The names of the disputants were John Adamson, James Fairlie, Patrick Sands, Andrew Young, James Reid, and William King; and the monarch's wit may be discovered in the following versification of his remarks upon their merits, which was composed by his command:—

As Adam was the first man, whence all beginning tak;
So Adam's son was president, and first man in this act.
The thesis Fairlie did defend, which thogh they lies contain,
Yet were Fair-lies, and he the same right fairly did maintain:
The field, first enter'd master Sands, and there he made me see
That not all Sands are barren Sands, but that some fertile be.
Then master Young, most subtilie the thesis did impugne,
And kythed old in Aristotle, althogh his name was Young.

To him succeeded master Reid, who, thogh Reid be his name,
Need neither for his dispute, blush, nor of his speech think shame:
Last enter'd master King the lists, and dispute like a king,
How reason, reigning like a queen, should anger under bring.
To their deserved praise have I, thus play'd upon their names,
And wills their colledge hence be call'd the colledge of king James.

The king returned to London on the 15th of September 1617. Edinburgh seems to have enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity during the remaining period of the reign of James. When he died, in 1625, the ministers of Edinburgh eulogized him as the most "religious and peaceable prince that ever was in this unworthy world." After the accession of Charles to the throne, which was proclaimed at the market cross by the officers of state, a convention was held at Edinburgh, the proceedings of which are now involved in obscurity. At the commencement of this reign, certain ships of war being wanted, and forts for securing the coasts of the kingdom, the king wrote to the convention of boroughs to know what they were willing to contribute for these purposes. The common council of Edinburgh, we are informed, entered zealously into the measure, and not only agreed to advance their assessment, both ordinary and extraordinary, when called upon; but also offered to contribute, along with the states of the kingdom, a proportional part towards the maintenance of ten thousand men, and to assist in the erection of forts in their neighbourhood. Some time afterwards, also, a subsidy for four years having, agreeably to the king's wish, been granted by parliament, the inhabitants of Edinburgh generously advanced at once their quota, amounting to £40,000 Scots. For these acts of kindness, his majesty by letter expressed suitable gratitude, and by sending a sword and gown to be worn by the provost in the manner appointed by his father. In pursuance of this design, the common council gave orders that the lord provost and bail-

lies should wear scarlet gowns on particular occasions, and appointed a sword-bearer. Like his father, Charles, too, resolved to visit his native country; and, though prevented for some years from fulfilling his intention, he at last accomplished it in the year 1633. Having been duly apprized of the honour designed them, the inhabitants of Edinburgh prepared to give him a splendid reception. The celebrated Drummond, of Hawthornden, was appointed to address him on his arrival, which he did in all the profusion of pompous diction and poetical embellishment, which were characteristic of the times, though with considerable more genius than his late predecessor in that office. The following is the exordium:—"Sir, if Nature could suffer rocks to move, and abandon their natural places, this town, founded on the strength of rocks (now by the cheering rays of your majesty's presence, taking not only motion but life), had, with her castle, temples, and houses, moved towards you, and besought you to acknowledge her your's, and her indwellers your most humble and affectionate subjects; and to believe how many souls are within her circuits, so many lives are devoted to your sacred person and crown." He then proceeds to say of the town, that "she offered by him, to the altar of her glory, whole hecatombs of most happy desires, praying, that his kingdom might flourish abroad with bays, and at home with olives, presenting him, who was the strong key of this little world of Great Britain, with those keys which cast the gates of her affection, and designing him power to open all the springs of the hearts of these her most loyal citizens." In another part, he says, that "as the rose at the fair appearing as the morning sun, displayeth and spreadeth her purples, so that the noise of your happy return to this your native country, their hearts, (if they could have shined through their breasts) were with joy and fair hopes made spacious: nor did they ever in all parts feel a more comfortable heat than the glory of your presence at this time darteth upon them." Even the old are said to "forget their age, and look

fresh and young" on the occasion, and "all have more joys than tongues." He concludes with pledging a continuance of their attachment to the king, "so long as these rocks are shadowed with buildings, these buildings inhabited by men, and while men are either endued with counsel or courage, or enjoy any piece of reason, sense, or life."

After hearing this flattering oration, of which the choicest parts have been culled, and presented in this extract, the king approached the West-port, where was displayed a magnificent pageant, on which a view of Edinburgh was depicted. A veil being then drawn aside, the nymph Edinæ, attended by beautiful damsels, made her appearance; and, welcoming the king in a short speech, delivered to him the keys of the castle. The king, after this ceremony, entered the gate, and was received by the lord provost, who delivered a congratulatory speech; by the rest of the magistrates in their scarlet robes; by the other members of the common council in black gowns faced with velvet; and by 260 young citizens dressed in white satin doublets, black velvet breeches, and white silk stockings, and carrying different kinds of alms. The streets, through which the cavalcade passed, were hung with tapestry, carpets, &c. lined on both sides by the train-bands, and crowded with a vast number of spectators. The king's visit to Edinburgh was honoured by other ceremonies. Three triumphal arches were constructed in different parts of the city. One in the Over-bow Street exhibited a representation of the country of Caledonia, with the lady Caledonia richly dressed in ancient costume, and delivering a speech in verse. Another was placed at the west end of the Tolbooth in the High Street, and displayed portraits of the Scottish kings, one of whom, Fergus, is represented as conducted by Mercury, and in the act of addressing some advices to his successor. The third arch, on which the constellations were drawn, and the planets discovered making poetical orations, stood at the Netherbow Gate. At the Trone, a huge mount was raised, intended as a minia-

ture of the Parnassian, and covered with vegetables and rocks. In the middle of it rose a very high pyramid, from the top of which a stream of pure water, denoting that of Hippocrene, was made to issue. A band of musicians occupied the cavity of the mount, and, on the king's approach performed, in fine style, a piece, to which the name Caledonia was given. On the north side stood the nine muses splendidly attired, with Apollo, who, on the cessation of the music, presented his majesty with a book of poems and panegyrics composed for the occasion by members of the college. All these absurd exhibitions, together with the present and banquet which the citizens gave the king, cost them a sum upwards of £41,000 Scottish money. On the day after his arrival, the king repaired from Holyrood-house to the castle, and, remaining there a night, returned to the palace.

On the 18th of June he was crowned with new and splendid ceremonies, in the abbey church of Holyrood. He convened on the 10th, in the Tolbooth, his first Scottish parliament, by which former acts respecting religion were confirmed, the privileges of the royal boroughs ratified, and a general enactment made in favour of the rights of the whole people. Notwithstanding, however, the apparent tranquillity of that period, discontents existed among the people, which soon after the departure of the king began to display themselves in murmurings and complaints.

Upon the town-council applying about this time to the king for a charter to empower the inhabitants to form themselves into companies, he, suspicious, it would appear, of their intentions, desired them previously to form their companies. His distrust, however, seems to have been removed, as we find him in 1636 conferring on the city of Edinburgh a charter, in which all the privileges granted by his predecessors were confirmed. It appears, too, that companies of militia existed in the year 1645, the town being divided into as many parts as there were companies.

The attempt of Charles to introduce the episcopalian form of church government into Scotland, gave rise in that country to a course of civil disturbances, which seem to have been chiefly concentred in Edinburgh. The privy council and the court of session removed from that city to Linlithgow. The magistrates, in concurrence with the covenanters, who were making vigorous preparations for war, gave orders to the citizens to make similar arrangements. The castle was attempted by the covenanters, and the town-council aided in the affair with a supply of 500 men, and a vote of £50,000 Scots for the purpose of maintaining them. After a slight assault, the fortress surrendered. The covenanters afterwards took the king's house at Dalkeith, and carried the regalia which they found there to Edinburgh castle, employing at the same time, for the uses of war, a great quantity of ammunition and arms, of which they possessed themselves. Expecting an armament from England, they proceeded to construct fortifications at Leith,—a work in which persons of all ranks, and even ladies, animated by a pious zeal, volunteered their services. But, in consequence of the pacification which took place between the opposing parties at Berwick, these fortifications were demolished, and the arms and ammunition belonging to them carried to the castle, which had been delivered up into the hands of the marquis of Hamilton, the king's commissioner. In consequence of this adjustment of matters, a public thanksgiving was made at Edinburgh, but complete repose was by no means established. A proclamation made at the cross, forbidding the use of fire-arms on the pain of death, was not regarded; and the parliament, which sat in December 1639, rose with the feeling entertained by either party, that the proceedings of the other had been unconstitutional. In the beginning of the year 1640, the hostile spirit, which had been but partially smothered, burst out afresh in active preparations for another war. The magistrates raised fortifications to protect the town from the assaults of the castle, placed a guard, and disciplined the citizens. Ruthen, the governor, fired upon

the town. Lesslie having mustered his army at Leith, invested the castle, which held out for some time, but at length capitulated from the want of provisions. These hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Rippon on the 2d of September 1640, without having been marked by skill or vigour on the part of the king's troops, and attended with no advantage to his cause.

Charles visited Edinburgh a second time on the 14th of August, 1641. His declared object was "to perfect what he had promised, and to quiet distraction for the people's satisfaction." A parliament met on the 15th of July, the result of whose proceedings was an entire change in the government, Charles retaining only the name of king, and the kingdom only the appearance of monarchy. He agreed to an act of oblivion, by which his opponents were pardoned. This, however, was at the expense of his friends, whom he punished at the same time that he conferred honours and favours on those who had been his determined opposers. After receiving an entertainment from the magistrates, he left Edinburgh on the 17th of November, having entrusted the charge of his Scottish affairs to a committee of the estates.

On his return to England, he was quickly involved in a war with his parliament, and was at first so successful against them as to induce his opponents to make application for assistance to those who had espoused their cause in Scotland. The king, in order to defeat this measure, sent a letter to the magistrates full of tender regard and flattering promises, in which he attempted to secure their interest in his favour, by reminding them of their engagements and obligations, and by assurances of future kindness to them. Of this proffer of royal favour, however, they did not choose to avail themselves, any further than to intercede with him in behalf of his English subjects in arms against him; but the latter were not satisfied with the terms propounded to them, and the Scots were rather disposed to distrust the promises of the king. The inhabitants of

Edinburgh, therefore, complied with the request of their southern friends, fulfilling their part of the treaty between the two parliaments, by which, that of Scotland had pledged themselves to furnish the English parliament with 18,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 1000 dragoons, all effective men, with a suitable train of artillery. Every male person in Edinburgh was ordered to present himself in a state of military preparation. A new covenant was framed in the name of all ranks in the country, by which the subscribers bound themselves to effect the extirpation of popery and prelacy, to reform the English church, and to unite for these purposes as well as for that of mutual safety against every species of opposition to which they might be exposed. An army under the command of the earl of Leven thereafter entered England.

A plague with which the Scottish capital was scourged, raged at this time with destructive fury. A physician of the name of Joannes Politious, was engaged by the common council to visit the infected; and by their order, also, together with the consent of the creditors, all debtors were set at liberty in consequence of this awful visitation of the Almighty. It was in this disastrous crisis, that intelligence was received of the defeat of the parliamentary army, by that under the marquis of Montrose. In this dilemma the town-council acted with great caution. They ordered proclamation to be made that none of the inhabitants might leave the town, without the permission of the magistrates, under a penalty of the forfeiture of their property, the loss of their freedom, and a fine of £1000. At the same time all burgesses who were out of town were required to return within forty-eight hours, otherwise they should become liable to the same penalty. All householders too were commanded, on pain of a similar treatment, to give in an account of the names and quality of their lodgers. A strong party of the trained bands was appointed to guard the city from eight at night till six in the following morning; and orders were issued for repairing the town-wall,

in which two additional ports or gates were to be constructed; but notwithstanding these preparations, the town was still quite unable to defend itself, the plague having left only sixty men who could be of any service in case of an attack. Urged by this unhappy confluence of necessitous and miserable circumstances, the citizens complied with the proposal of Montrose, who had promised them impunity on condition that they surrendered those royalists whom they had in custody.

In the same year there was held a parliament, of which the earl of Lauderdale was president, and by which a tax was put on almost every necessary article. At these proceedings the citizens murmured, and meeting with no mercy from the magistrates, sought redress from the clergy; but the latter, in place of taking the part of the oppressed people, rather persuaded them that the burden laid upon them would contribute to their ultimate advantage.

Charles, now reduced to the greatest extremities, threw himself into the hands of the Scottish army, relying upon their generosity. The baseness of the chiefs of that army in selling him to the English, and his subsequent execution, affected Edinburgh with a portion of the disgrace which attached to these transactions, for though both the committee of the estates and the assembly of the Kirk protested against the cruel result to which the surrender of the king afterwards led, yet their efforts for preventing his death did not display much of the honesty and zeal of persons who were eager and sincere in the prosecution of their object.

The inhabitants of Edinburgh entered very warmly about this time into what was called the national agreement, the object of which was to support the royal cause against the English sectaries. Their quota of the army intended to be levied was to have been 1200 men, a number which their drained population could not well afford. They, therefore, proposed to give in place of them, a sum of money to the amount of £40,000. On the defeat, however, some time afterwards

of the duke of Hamilton, the original stipulation was required to be fulfilled; and thus both men and money appear to have been furnished. The latter was a loan which the town-council had procured from individuals, and which they refused afterwards to pay, denying altogether the engagement, and resolving to defend themselves against all suits that might be brought against them on its account. In this conduct they procured the acquiescence of the general assembly, who, when consulted, gave it as their judgement, "that the magistrates should not in conscience pay any part of the aforesaid sum, nor interpose their authority for paying of the same." They were, however, afterwards obliged to fulfil the contract, by a sentence of the English judges in December 1652.

Charles II. was proclaimed king at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 15th of July 1650; but as he did not consent to the conditions on which the crown was offered him, the marquis of Montrose made an attempt to place him on the throne on more agreeable terms. Having been appointed by Charles captain general in Scotland, he landed in the north with about 500 foreigners, but was completely overthrown, and brought a prisoner to Edinburgh. He was met at the Watergate by the magistrates, the city-guard, and the executioner, and carried along on a cart, the other prisoners walking two and two before him, and the hangman preceding him in his livery coat and bonnet. Two days after, he was brought before the parliament, and received from the chancellor sentence of death, which was carried into effect under circumstances which shewed at once his fortitude, and the brutality of his enemies.

The English parliament anticipating an accommodation between Charles and the Scots, sent Cromwell into Scotland with an army, and at the same time published a declaration, in which they charged the Scots with a violation of their engagements, and urged that nation to renounce their treaty with the king. Cromwell's army then, to the number of 16,000,

crossed the Tweed, and marched through Lothian, encamping near the Pentland Hills, in July 1650. Lesley commanded the Scots, who were at first drawn up at Corstorphine, but afterwards entrenched in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith. The magistrates about this period were applied to by the lord chancellor Loudon, who was with the Scottish army, for provisions, which they seem to have furnished. In this situation Cromwell attempted to bring them to an engagement, but finding this impracticable, and that he was daily losing by the irregular warfare to which he was exposed, retreated to Dunbar. The king had now agreed to subscribe the covenant, as it was the only method by which he could obtain his kingdom; and, accordingly, on his arrival on the coast of Scotland, a deputation of the clergy waited on him, when he subscribed the national, and also the solemn league and covenant. He was afterwards obliged to subscribe a declaration framed by the commission of the general assembly, in which he had to confess the sins of his past life, and to profess that to the end of his life he would adhere to all that he had promised. In other respects, Charles was treated really as a prisoner, though he had all the exterior respect and attendance of a monarch. From Dunbar, Cromwell, pressed by difficulties, designed to transport his troops into England; but at the moment this resolution was about to be fulfilled, Lesley, in opposition to his own opinion, was prevailed upon by his officers and the clergy to give battle to the English. The consequence was the destruction of the Scottish army. By this event the capital was deprived of a regular government, the magistrates having together with the ministers and principal inhabitants deserted the town. In this dilemma, the remaining citizens assembled, and chose a committee of thirty to manage the city, and treat with Cromwell. These duties they discharged with such wisdom and skill for a period of fifteen months, as to be honoured with the thanks of the subsequent town-council, and with the ratification of all the acts which

they had passed. On the 7th of September, Cromwell possessed himself of Edinburgh and Leith, and after a siege of three months took the castle. The inhabitants were now anxious to secure the favour of this powerful person, and sent him an address with that view. It appears from a letter of thanks which they wrote to him, that they had accomplished this object, and that he had conferred some particular favour upon them; but as there are no vestiges of the letter or address, it can now only be conjectured that this favour consisted in his imposing a duty of a plack on every pint of beer or ale, and probably too in his restoring to them the town of Leith, "for which they gave him a bond of £5000 sterling, to take care of his military magazine over their Weigh House, in that place."

When the English commissioners, for the settlement of the affairs of the nation, had arrived at the town of Dalkeith, a committee, consisting of three merchants and three tradesmen, was appointed to wait upon them, and to request their attendance at Edinburgh for the purpose of electing magistrates. Having been furnished at their desire with the original grants, empowering the inhabitants of Edinburgh to choose their magistrates, they gave orders that the election should forthwith take place. Two commissioners were then mentioned by the preceding council, it having been decided, that it was more convenient that they should be nominated by the council than elected by the whole people. These commissioners proceeded to Dalkeith, and returned with two papers, entitled *The Town's Protection*, and *The Charter for Electing of Magistrates*. It was now to be decided whether the magistrates should be elected by the citizens in general, or, according to the ancient usage and the meaning of the charter, by the previous council. After objections had been made to the latter plan, and a proposal to entrust the power of election to the commissioners had been made and rejected, the assembly proceeded to fill up the number of the council which had been deficient, owing to

the absence of some, and the dissentient opinion of others. On the 5th of March, this council concurred in the choice of those deacons and counsellors who had been previously nominated, and on the 9th of the month made choice of the magistrates for the remaining part of the year. These having accepted of the office, took the oath in presence of the judge advocate, who was deputed for that purpose by the commissioners.

About this period a number of English families were settled by Cromwell at Leith. Finding their situation not agreeable, owing to the oppressive treatment of their superiors, as the inhabitants of Edinburgh were called, they remonstrated, through general Monk, to the Protector. Monk pleaded the hardships of their case, and the great loss that the commonwealth and the army would sustain by their removal. Cromwell referred the matter to Monk and two of the Scottish judges. The latter, however, had not time to determine it, and it devolved on the council of state, to whom the inhabitants of Leith gave in a statement of their grievances. A long and expensive litigation between the two towns ensued, till at last commissioners appointed by Monk to appear before a council having been heard on both sides, a decision was given in favour of Edinburgh, in consequence of which its inhabitants, according to agreement, had to pay £5000 sterling for the erection of a citadel in Leith, designed for the good of the commerce and privileges of the capital.

Edinburgh was at this time in great pecuniary distress. Three persons were made choice of to represent the city in parliament, who might procure assistance from government. Cromwell gave them a grant, by which they were enabled to keep up their credit for some time. Still, however, they were above £50,000 sterling in debt, and their creditors were importunate. In these circumstances the town-council and the barons of exchequer satisfied their creditors by paying the interest, and obtaining exemption from advancing the principal till it was convenient. As a small emolument, too, they were

allowed to continue the tax on malt liquor; and an application which general Monk made in their favour seems to have brought them some further assistance from Cromwell.

Monk, after receiving the thanks of the magistrates for his kind attention and services during the time he was in Scotland, and after meeting with the commissioners of the counties whom he had summoned to Edinburgh in order to give them instructions for the benefit of their constituents, returned to England, with the design, it was believed, of restoring the monarchy. On the 11th May, 1660, the magistrates sent the town-clerk to the king, who was at Breda, expressing their concurrence in his meditated restoration (already agreed to by both houses of parliament in England), and their joy at the prospect of such an event. Their messenger "had a most gracious acceptance," and in the name of the boroughs presented "a poor myte of £1000, which he did graciously accept as though it had been a greater business." The feelings of delight which the arrival of the king in England excited in Edinburgh, were expressed in the customary mode of costly feasting, a sumptuous banquet having been served up by the town-council at the Market-cross. The king, pleased it should seem by the attachment of the citizens, of which this circumstance had afforded a proof, granted them a ratification of the tribute on wine, ale, and beer; and, after some disputes, this was now settled at one third of a penny on the pint of ale, and twopence on the same quantity of wine. He also promised at some future period to bestow upon them a more particular confirmation of their former charters, rights, and privileges, an engagement which he performed on the 22d of August, 1660, by abolishing the English tribunals in Scotland, under which indeed justice had been well administered; by restoring the ancient officers and offices of state, and by appointing a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, by which an act of indemnity was to be prepared. This parliament met accordingly on the 1st of January, 1661, lord Middleton presiding as king's commissioner. Among its

other iniquitous proceedings, it rescinded all the acts of those parliaments which had sat between the years 1640 and 1648, alleging as a reason for such a daring violation of law and principle, that all the miseries of the preceding three and twenty years, were the necessary consequences of the invasions which had been made under the pretext of reformations, on the royal authority. By this parliament, too, the charter of confirmation granted to Edinburgh was ratified, and its power of regality over the Canongate confirmed. The people, who had long been destitute of regular employment, were now provided with work in consequence of several new statutes relating to domestic economy; and the king had settled on him for life a revenue, which was designed for the maintenance of his Scottish affairs, and of which a sixth part was contributed by the county and city of Edinburgh. At a subsquent meeting of parliament, which took place on the 8th of May, 1662, acts were passed of revocation, as to those laws which had been made, and of oblivion, with respect to those crimes that had been committed during the minority of the king. Episcopacy, too, was re-established, and a declaration of fidelity prescribed to all persons in public trust.

The establishment of the episcopal religion was in opposition to every obligation both of honour and the oath by which the king was engaged. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Scottish people, so attached to presbyterianism, were indignant at the conduct of the king, and that they gave utterance to their feelings of anger, in that freedom of expostulation and censure, which the free state of the press at that time permitted. But the mind of the public was still more exasperated, when the liberty of speaking their sentiments in this way was greatly abridged, if not altogether taken away. The lord advocate and the lord provost were employed to collect all publications of a seditious tendency, and no person was suffered to retain in his possession works of that character,

under the penalty of fifty and sometimes one hundred guineas for each copy, besides the liability to be treated as the author. Even women were to be banished to Shetland if convicted of this offence; and such was the construction put upon the law, that a translation of Buchanan, *De Jure regni apud Scotos*, was considered among the offensive productions. An edict, besides, was published, requiring those who had strangers lodging with them to give up a list of their names. So strictly were the laws enforced, with regard to the possession of fire-arms, that nothing less than a warrant from the privy-council, could entitle any gentleman to keep a fowling piece for his private amusement. The privy-council, also, arrogated to themselves the right of banishing to the West Indies, persons who might be concerned in riots, or in other kinds of public mischief; and an instance of this arbitrary assumption of power is recorded to have occurred about this time. The shopkeepers entered into a combination to keep their shops shut, in which they persisted for two days, producing great confusion, and violent riots. In consequence of an order from the privy-council, which demanded of the magistrates the adoption of forcible measures for the breaking open of the shops, should the merchants not hearken to peaceable ones, quiet was restored; those who had been most actively concerned were committed to prison, and some of them even banished, the king having assigned this prerogative to his ministers. Religious persecution was now carried to its utmost length, people were denied the liberty of worshipping God according to their consciences, the half of the clergy were deposed for not conforming to the episcopalian form of worship, large fines were exacted from those who did not attend the churches of the establishment, and there were instances even of the imprisonment of gentlemen for five years, on the mere ground of suspected disaffection.

The people were provoked to opposition; those of the western shires in particular having taken up arms, and disarmed

the king's troops at Dumfries, proceeded to Edinburgh. Measures were taken by the privy-council for putting a stop to their progress, and the city of Edinburgh was fortified against them; no egress was permitted except to those who had passports. The gentlemen residing in the vicinity, were called in to the assistance of the inhabitants. A company from the college of justice, provided with arms by the lord Lyon, was formed in behalf of the king, and those persons in the town who had horses, were required under the marquis of Montrose to join general Dalziel, who had been previously sent from England to oppose the covenanters. The horrible cruelties which ensued upon the defeat of the latter, are too numerous to be even mentioned in this limited work. The attempt, however, upon the life of archbishop Sharp in the streets of Edinburgh, led that prelate to advise somewhat milder measures, which the easy disposition of the king, and other circumstances, induced the government to adopt.

Two disturbances happened about this period in the capital. It had been the subject of controversy, whether there could be an appeal from the court of session to the king and his estates. Charles, after investigating the matter, was of opinion, that no appeal should be made to him, and required the advocates, who had originated the discussion, to acquiesce in that decision, or be prevented from exercising their profession. A majority of the members of the bar, refused to submit to the sentence of the king, and were banished twelve miles from Edinburgh, so long as they continued refractory. It appears that both law and precedent were in favour of the independent authority of the court; but, certainly the conduct of the advocates, proceeding as it must have done from sincerity and conviction, discovered a manly and an independent spirit.

During the year 1679, the duke of York, brother to the king, visited Edinburgh, where he was magnificently entertained, and where he made himself odious by attempting the revival

of the drama, and by encouraging other amusements, to which the people were extremely averse. It was this visit which occasioned all the disturbances to which allusion has been made. The students of the university wishing to express their dislike to the popish religion, which they knew that the duke professed, prepared a procession, with an intention to burn the effigy of the pope; but they had scarcely time for accomplishing the latter, when the magistrates interfered and sent a party of soldiers, who secured seven of the students, and lodged them in prison. From this place they were liberated in a few days, but loud threats testified that they were resolved to be revenged on the magistrates. The lord provost's house at Priestfield, accordingly, was burnt. This act of violence was imputed to the students, and, in consequence, the college gates were shut, and the collegians were ordered to remove to the distance of fifteen miles from the city. But their friends having become answerable for their future good behaviour, they were restored to the enjoyment of their privileges.

The duke of York held a parliament in Edinburgh in July, 1681, when the laws relating to the security of the protestant religion were confirmed, the right of succession to the throne framed so as not to exclude a papist, and the test act passed; by which it became necessary for those holding any office under government, to swear adherence to the protestant religion. By this act, unlimited submission to the king, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters was required. Besides, the parties so holding any office were compelled to subscribe to a confession of faith, in which the part of the oath that favoured the complete supremacy of the king in church and state was expressly condemned. But many individuals were justly offended at this, and a great number of clergymen and persons in civil offices, refusing to take the oath, were banished; and others left the country to evade the persecution to which nonconformity subjected them. The marquis of Argyle consented however to subscribe the test, on condition that he was allowed

to give his own explanation of it, which was granted him. But he was afterwards brought to account for this very circumstance, and at a still later period, it contributed to his condemnation and execution.

The city became now the barracks of a standing army, which, though it produced a forced tranquillity, did not prevent frequent assassinations; numbers were martyred to satisfy the fury of a persecuting religion and of a tyrannical government. The duke of York had made himself so popular with the king's party, that they offered him a supply of seven months assessment to support his succession to the crown; they also evinced their attachment to the royal cause, by electing those magistrates whom the king had recommended; and by pledging their exertions to suppress conventicles and vagrant preachers, whom they called the pests of a kingdom; and by otherwise courting the notice and favour of his majesty by means the most servile and unworthy.

The extortions of which the ministers of Charles were guilty, must not be passed over in silence. Pretences the most ridiculously false were likewise employed for the purpose of raising money, and it was believed that greater severity was used against the covenanters, with the very design that they might be incited to a rebellion, by which their property would be confiscated, in these matters Lauderdale had a principal share; the convention of royal boroughs paid him a pension in return for his influence. One instance of his avarice and injustice may be stated: he procured from the king a grant, according to which the citadel of Leith was erected into a burgh of regality, under the name of Charleston; foreseeing that the magistrates would have to purchase the borough from him at any sum he might choose to mention. They accordingly found themselves under the necessity of coming to an agreement with him, giving the extravagant price of £6000 for the favour of this minister, who, at

that time in particular, had it in his power to oppress them by the refusal of certain grants which were necessary to enable them to liquidate their heavy debts. They had also to advance a moiety of £5000, in consideration of the right to exact duties on wine and spirits, which he had obtained for them.

When intelligence of the demise of Charles II. which happened in February 1685, was received in Edinburgh, the chancellor and the officers of state, the nobility, the privy-council, the lords of session, and the magistrates of the city, with the Lion king at arms and his heralds, assembled; a theatre having been previously erected, and the militia drawn out. The chancellor, who carried his own purse, then with tears proclaimed James duke of York to be the lawful king of Britain, and all who were present swore fealty and allegiance to him, the clerk-register reading the words of the oath. In honour of this event, the castle guns were fired, an act of indemnity was published, and a sermon delivered, in which the preacher, Mr. John Robert, endeavoured to console his hearers for the loss of their late king by descanting on the virtues of his successor. The magistrates presented an address on this occasion to the king, congratulating him on his accession to the throne, which he was pleased favourably to receive and thankfully to acknowledge; a proclamation, too, was issued, continuing all official persons in their places. In April at the meeting of parliament an act was passed for the confirmation of the protestant religion, and the test was enforced by a new law; but the king soon made it appear that his favour to the reformed faith was but pretended, and that he could dispense with the test whenever he pleased. It was not long before he openly avowed the object which had been cloaked under his hypocritical pretences. In his attempts to introduce popery, attempts founded on a most absurd mistake, as to the facility of compliance, in his Scottish subjects, he had recourse to an arbitrary exercise of authority, which but ill comported with his previous lenity and

kindness, and was in direct opposition as well to the laws of his country as to his own parliamentary enactments. No books that reflected on popery were permitted to be sold; the public offices were filled with papists; a papist was made printer to the king in place of the printer who had a grant to that situation; and the king took upon himself the privilege of nominating the provosts of the several boroughs.

But this tyrannical tendency on the part of the crown was met by a spirit of bigotry and persecution on the part of the people. When some persons of rank were returning from the popish chapel, they were insulted by a number of apprentices and others who had collected. A baker who was engaged in the riot having been whipped by order of the privy-council, the populace rescued him, and chastised the executioner. Soldiers were ordered to attend, who fired on the mob, by which three persons lost their lives: some of the rioters were tried and convicted; but the privy-council were afraid of inflicting punishment, except in the cases of two individuals, one of whom was hanged and the other shot; the former had used some reproachful language, which he himself declared was meant for the mob and not for the papists; the latter had drunk confusion to the catholics and health to the king in the same bumper, and yet notwithstanding these severe measures, we find the magistrates, in a letter of thanks to the king for restoring the summer session of the law courts, speaking of "their hearty devotion to his service, and of his princely goodness and care," professions which, arising from a momentary impulse, were consequently soon falsified.

The fall of the Stuarts was now approaching in the fate of their last representative. In the months of September and October 1688, an invasion from Holland was anticipated, and preparations were made for resisting it, an order was issued for the raising of militia, and for the erection of beacons on the the coast. It was only two days before

the landing of the prince of Orange, that the Scottish bishops sent an address to the king, in which, referring to the threatened invasion, they expressed their confidence in him for the protection of their church and religion, and their earnest desires, "that God would give him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies."

CHAPTER V.

From the Revolution to the Rebellion in 1745.

THE arrival of the prince of Orange being announced at Edinburgh, multitudes of presbyterians immediately flocked thither. The earl of Perth, who was chancellor, took a hasty leave of the city, and a mob of people assembled for the purpose of burning the popish chapel at Holyrood-house. They were here opposed by a band of one hundred men, who fired upon them, killing twelve, and wounding more. The defenders, however, were at last overpowered, and the furniture and ornaments of the chapel were devoted to destruction. Other ravages were committed on the property of catholics, and the students paraded with the college mace carried before them, and with music, to the cross, where they burnt the effigy of the pope. Owing, however, to the guards who were stationed throughout the town and in the neighbourhood, and to the prudence of the duke of Gordon in not firing from the castle, nothing further of a serious nature occurred. The town-council, who had but lately been so fulsome in their flatteries to the late king, were now equally subservient to his successor, offering him their services, begging his protection to their persons, the city, and its privileges, and expressing their readiness to concur with him in the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberties of the country.

By those Scottish nobility and gentry who were in London, the prince of Orange was authorized to assume the government of Scotland until a meeting of the estates should be called. This meeting, accordingly, was held at Edinburgh. The bishop of Edinburgh prayed on the occasion for the welfare and restoration of king James. A letter from James, and another from the prince, were then read. To the former the

only answer which they condescended to give, was a passport to its bearer. After declaring themselves a free and lawful meeting, and taking care that the military forces of the country were collected, the estates came to the decision, that James by not having at his coronation taken the oath required by law, and by endeavouring to subvert the constitution, had forfeited his right to the crown, and vacated the throne. William and Mary were then declared to be king and queen of England, and on the 11th of April they were proclaimed at the cross king and queen of Scotland, the regal power, however, being confined to the former. A list of grievances was then presented for redress; the previous elections of magistrates having been irregular, new elections were appointed to take place in the royal boroughs; several ministers in Edinburgh were deprived of their churches for not praying for the newly-appointed sovereigns; the meeting of the estates was by authority of the king converted into a parliament, and the presbyterian mode of religion was substituted for prelacy.

This new state of things, however, was not effected without some interruption. The castle, under the duke of Gordon, still held out for James, and he had some adherents among the higher orders. Lord Dundee on leaving the city, where he dreaded assassination for his attachment to the former king, climbed the castle rock, and had an interview with the duke of Gordon. This circumstance gave rise to a rumour that an insurrection was intended by Dundee, and a dreadful alarm was produced. The drums beat to arms, and the troops, which the duke of Hamilton had quartered in the city, were brought out; but no serious consequences followed. The greater part of the friends of the banished monarch now either relinquished his cause, or left the city; and the castle, the only place of strength in his interest, being almost destitute of provisions, capitulated on the 13th of June, 1690.

The members of the college of justice were deprived of all their arms except their swords, owing to the suspicion that

they were attached to the old government; others, who had also incurred suspicion, were committed to prison in great numbers, and the lords Balcarras and Kilsyth were immured in dungeons: some, according to Arnot, were tortured to give evidence. Such severity of treatment, however, if it did exist to the degree alleged, was contrary to law, and to the wishes of the government; and may fairly be attributed to the excesses which underlings of every administration are apt to indulge in while executing the orders of their superiors.

In the year 1695, the Darien expedition was undertaken, which so nearly concerned and so intimately affected our northern metropolis. An act of parliament having been procured, a company was formed, and £400,000 sterling was subscribed by Scotsmen residing in Scotland, for fitting out ships to trade with Africa and the Indies. These ships, six in number, and loaded with commodities of different kinds, set sail from the Forth. When intelligence of the settlement of the company on the isthmus of Darien, in 1699, reached Edinburgh, the greatest joy was manifested. Thanks were offered in all the churches, and the praises of the undertaking were sounded from the pulpits. News arriving of the defeat of the Spaniards in their attempts to destroy the settlement, the mob, in an extacy of joy, compelled the inhabitants to illuminate their windows, threatening destruction in cases where their wishes were not complied with, which threats they, in some instances, carried into effect. But their feelings proceeded to a still more extravagant pitch, for, securing the avenues of the city, they burnt the doors of the prison, and liberated two persons who had been confined for printing publications obnoxious to government. The ferment became still more violent, though of a different complexion, when, by the failure of the expedition, their rejoicings were turned into vexation and fury. Such, indeed, was the state of popular commotion, that the commissioner and officers of state were induced to leave the scene for some days, in order to escape the vengeance of an infuriated multitude.

On the death of William, queen Anne took the coronation oath required by the Scottish statute, and sent a letter to the privy council in Edinburgh, empowering them to act in her name, and containing assurances of her resolution to maintain the government, both ecclesiastical and civil. She was therefore proclaimed queen of Scotland. The officers of state were continued in power till further advice should be received. By order of her majesty, the parliament, which had sat during the last reign, was convened on the 9th of June, 1702, the duke of Queensberry acting as the queen's commissioner. The duke of Hamilton, with seventy-nine of the members, withdrew from the assembly, on the ground that it was irregular; and in favour of this opinion a vote was passed by the faculty of advocates, who, on this account, were reprimanded by the parliament. At this meeting, the estates recognized the authority of the queen, passed a law securing the protestant religion and the presbyterian form of it, and declared the meeting to be lawful and constitutional, to impugn whose proceedings was to be regarded as treason.

Shortly after this period, the chancellor had nearly lost his life in a disturbance, which had its origin in the following circumstance. A ship, the property of the African company, had been seized in the Thames by the English, who would not resign their prize, notwithstanding the repeated applications of the Scots. In return for this act of injustice, the latter took a ship belonging to the East-India company, which had sailed into the Forth. The crew of this vessel unguardedly disclosed some information respecting a Scottish ship in the East Indies which they had plundered, and for this confession they were brought to trial and condemned. The evidence, however, having been inconclusive, applications were made for their pardon. The day of execution had arrived, and the magistrates were uncertain whether to carry in force the sentence of the law, when a great number of people assembled around the prison and in the parliament square, demanding revenge

for the wrongs which their countrymen had suffered. This determined the magistrates to give up some of the criminals to punishment; but, as the lord chancellor was going in his carriage from the privy council, some person cried out that the prisoners had been reprieved. Upon this, the chancellor's coach was stopped at the Tron church, the glasses broken, and himself pulled from the carriage. He was rescued by some friends, but it was found necessary to sacrifice the seamen to the resentment of the populace.

In the parliament, of which the duke of Argyle was commissioner, and which met in June 1705, something was done with a view to an union between the two kingdoms, in imitation of the example which had previously been set them by the English parliament, into which a bill had been brought, enabling the queen to appoint commissioners to treat of an union. On the 16th of April, 1706, negociators from the two kingdoms met, and on the 22d of July the articles of union were finally adjusted and signed.

Several circumstances, however, concurred to prevent the union from being hailed with universal approbation. The contiguity, indeed, of the two kingdoms, formed a reason for their coalescence; but that very thing had also given rise to many jealousies, antipathies, and strifes, which were calculated to embitter any junction that might be made. The massacre at Glencoe, the establishment of the African company, and the execution of Green the pirate, were occurrences that operated against the union in the minds of persons of all ranks, sects, and parties, which, conspiring with the removal from Edinburgh of all its ancient appendages of royalty, were fitted in a peculiar manner to displease the inhabitants of that city. No sooner, therefore, were the articles of union made public than the most violent symptoms of dissatisfaction were exhibited. A great concourse of people filled the square and outer department of the parliament house, venting their displeasure at those who favoured the union, and, on the other hand, loudly testifying

their approbation of its opposers. On the 23d of October they assaulted the mansion of their late provost and representative in parliament, sir Patrick Johnston, who had advocated the cause of union, and who, on this occasion, narrowly escaped falling a sacrifice to popular fury. They then proceeded in a disorderly manner through the streets, receiving continual accessions to their number; and, by nine at night, the city was wholly in their power. To prevent their blocking up the ports, as they had threatened, a party of soldiers was ordered to the Netherbow, and a battalion of foot guards secured the parliament square and the lanes of the city. These measures restored tranquillity: but it was thought proper to retain the military; and three regiments remained in the city, while a party of guards took charge of the abbey, and another attended the commissioner. An army, besides, was posted in the neighbourhood of the metropolis for the purpose of supporting the parliament. The members under this protection met on the 3d of October, 1706, and subsequently ratified the articles of union. In the English parliament the same measure was readily and cordially carried, and thus was effected the very important matter of an union between Scotland and England. At first, those advantages that had been expected from it, and which have since been fully realized, were not experienced by the inhabitants of North Britain, owing probably to the sudden change of affairs, and to the want of those resources which were requisite for turning such a transition to good account.

In pursuance of the union, and the law which was enacted for the collection of the revenue in Scotland, an immense number of English tax-gatherers overran Scotland. "Dressed in a little brief authority," they had assumed an importance, and exercised a severity, to which the spirit of Scotsmen could not submit. The discontent occasioned by this and other circumstances, was improved by the jacobites for the furtherance of their views, the Pretender was invited, and soon ar-

rived with a French fleet in the Forth, for the purpose of making an attempt upon the crown. Intelligence of this event was speedily forwarded to the lord provost by the earl of Leven, who commanded a small body of disaffected troops. The magistrates, without delay, transmitted an address to her majesty, which assured her of their most hearty and resolute intention to oppose the invader, and desired the interposition of her authority in certain measures which they were about to adopt. This address was received in the most gracious manner, and procured the thanks of the queen, together with assurances of her continued protection and favour. Nor were the professions of the inhabitants of Edinburgh unsubstantiated. Thirty men were added to the town's company of fusileers, and the city was put in a defensive posture: but happily these preparations were superseded by the success of sir George Byng in driving the French fleet from our shores,—a service for which he received an elegant entertainment, and the freedom of the city, from the magistrates.

But the calm which now seemed to pervade Scotland was of short duration. The violent measures of the government aroused a spirit which had slumbered, but not expired, and which ultimately led to the rebellion in 1715. Edinburgh adhered to the cause of royalty; and "its council provided for the security of the town, and the support of government, by ordering the city walls and gates to be repaired and fortified; the sluice upon the north loch to be dammed up, and trenches to be made; the town-guard to be augmented; the trained bands to be armed; 400 men to be raised and maintained at the city's expense; and vessels to be fitted out, to assist the king's ships in preventing the rebel army from crossing the Forth." The rebels commenced hostilities, by endeavouring to surprise the castle, in which attempt they failed. Fifteen hundred men, headed by brigadier M'Intosh, having crossed the Forth, dexterously eluding the vessels which cruized along the coast, possessed themselves of Seaton house in East Lo-

thian. From this they shaped their course in the direction of Edinburgh, but finding it well prepared for a siege, they were induced to make a diversion to Leith, the citadel of which they held for some days. The duke of Argyle could not, in the first instance, for want of artillery, dispossess them of it; but, on his return with a supply of cannon, they left him master of the place. They were afterwards attacked and defeated on their march to the south. For these exploits the duke of Argyle received the acknowledgments of the town-council. This feeble rebellion was soon after extinguished upon the arrival of six thousand Dutch troops. The inhabitants of Edinburgh entertained these foreigners with great kindness, for which they were honoured with the commendations and thanks of the duke of Argyle.

In the year 1718, Scotland was threatened with a new Spanish invasion, a hundred and thirty years from the date of the former, and Edinburgh was fortified for resisting any attack. It was about this period that the provost received a regular salary of £300 a year to defray his expenses. Previously, he had been remunerated by various perquisites, arising out of the money which was paid for the enjoyment of lucrative offices, and from other unworthy sources. For the trouble and expense which attached to his office as their representative in parliament, the town-council had before this time granted the same person an allowance of the annual sum of £300.

A petition had been presented to her majesty in the month of April 1710, with the view of obtaining her permission and assistance to build wet and dry docks in Leith. This petition had met with the approbation of the queen and the privy council. The orders, however, to raise money for the object in contemplation having been neglected by the treasury, the matter was revived about this time. The government, instead of furnishing the money as they had promised, prevailed upon the inhabitants to undertake the work on their own

account, by offering them an act of parliament for a prolongation of nineteen years to a former grant of twopence Scots on every pint of ale and beer sold within the city and liberties. The purchase of this act of parliament, which cost £1920 sterling, and the partial execution of the plan, occasioned, within the period of seven years, an augmentation of the debts to nearly double their previous amount.

The conspiracy against the government, which was managed in favour of the Pretender by the bishop of Rochester, was officially made known to the citizens of Edinburgh, and called forth from them an address replete with their own, and the praises of the government. Their peaceable deportment at the period of the Scottish malt tax,* when the city of Glasgow was so excited, elicited from his majesty the most flattering testimonies of satisfaction, which they, of course, were not slow in amply acknowledging; and it was not long before they had another opportunity of testifying their good wishes to the state by congratulating the accession of George II. to the throne. A dreadful fire took place in the same year, by which a great part of the Lawnmarket was consumed, and much property destroyed. For the relief of the numerous sufferers, a sum of £938: 15: 8 was raised by subscription, under the superintendance of the magistrates, who, together with lord Miltown, were employed to distribute the money: and though they devoted a great portion of it to its proper design, yet we find them lavishing the remainder on objects in no way connected with the purpose for which it was collected; a gentleman, who was afterwards member of parliament for the city, having received £124: 4, and another, who subsequently filled the office of lord provost, having been presented with nearly double that sum.

We now come to an event of an almost unprecedented nature, and which excited a considerable ferment throughout the two kingdoms. The Scots were not altogether reconciled to the union, and various causes had contributed to increase the

mortification their national pride had received: and an undue exercise of power, on the part of the constituted authorities taking place at this juncture, stirred up the latent animosities of the people. A mob being assembled to witness an execution, some boys, according to the custom in those days, having thrown stones at the executioner, John Porteous, captain of the city-guard, was provoked to fire twice on the people, by which six persons lost their lives, and eleven were dangerously hurt. For this he was brought to trial and condemned, but received a reprieve from the queen regent. The people, exasperated to the highest degree by this lenient treatment of an act so cruel and precipitate, were resolved to be themselves the executioners of his sentence, and with a secrecy and skill which set subsequent detection at defiance, and which, combined with other circumstances, made it probable that they were persons of no vulgar character, they proceeded to accomplish their designs. In the first place, the town-guard was disarmed, and the city gates secured; the Tolbooth gate was then assailed with hammers; these proving ineffectual, it was set on fire and soon destroyed; the mob then liberated all the prisoners excepting the miserable object of their vengeance. Attempts were unsuccessfully made by the magistrates and the members of parliament to allay the commotion, but general Moyle would not consent to take out any of his troops, having no written mandate from the magistrates authorizing such a measure. When the ringleaders of the affray had reached the Grassmarket by torchlight, they bought a coil of rope in a shop which they forcibly opened, and having indulged their prisoner with a few moments to dispose of the money which he had on his person, they suspended him on a neighbouring post near the place where the deed for which he suffered had been perpetrated: they then peaceably repaired to their respective homes.

This outrage could not be passed over with impunity by the government, to which it was such an indignity. Infor-

mation having been sent by express to his majesty then at Hanover, a reward of £200 was offered for each person who should be convicted of having taken a part in the foul transaction, and immunity from punishment was proclaimed to those who would give evidence against their associates in guilt. The lord provost, after an imprisonment of three weeks, was ordered to attend in the house of lords, with the baillies and three of the lords of justiciary. Whether the latter should be received on the wool-sacks, at the table, or at the bar, was a question that had not been contemplated in the articles of union, and gave rise to considerable discussion, which ended in the agreement that their lordships should appear at the bar in their robes of office. The justice of the sentence against Porteous was then investigated. Some of the members censured the conduct both of the judges and jury, and a motion was made for finding the judgment of the court to have been illegal and improper; but the sentence having been clearly vindicated this motion was withdrawn.

In the house of lords a bill was passed, embracing in its object the deposition from his office, and the imprisonment of the lord provost, the demolition of the gates at the Netherbow port, and the dissolution of the city-guard. Only one Scotsman had opposed it in the upper house, and it was favoured by only one in the lower, where it passed through such an ordeal of resistance, as essentially to change its character: the imposition on the city of a fine of £2000 for the benefit of Porteous's widow having been substituted for those parts which required the incarceration of the provost, the abolition of the guards, and the pulling down of the gates. The bill was carried only by the casting vote, and would have been lost had two Scottish members been indulged with the liberty of retiring from an appeal which they were attending in the house of lords, or had the chairman of the committee voted, as was usual in his circumstances, on the side of mercy. The city of Edin-

burgh was thus encumbered with an expense which it had done nothing to merit, and was obliged to expiate a crime to which it had not been accessary, and for which, as the proper means for the discovery of the offenders had been used, it ought not in justice to have been responsible. But one good effect flowed from this severe measure. It was adopted as a regulation in cases of future disturbances, that the magistrates and council should, without waiting for any notice, convene in the council-chamber, and that the heads of the different corporations should, under a penalty of £100 Scots each, be at hand to perform such services for the suppression of insurrections as the magistrates might prescribe.

The year 1740 commenced with such a severe frost as to stop the mills throughout the country, and thus occasion a great scarcity of provisions; and a great fall of snow at the same time made the conveyance of coals to the city almost impracticable, so that some persons died of cold. In alleviation of these heavy calamities, great exertions, both publicly and in private, were made by the magistrates, and generous individuals. But owing to the bad harvest that followed, and the consequent rise in the price of provisions, the populace were excited to acts of disorder and pillage, which required the forcible aid of the military to check. After an interval of a year, the same riotous disposition was indulged by the people, when they burnt the houses of certain persons who were conceived to have been concerned in robbing the receptacles of the dead. Though the individuals who had been convicted of raising dead bodies were brought to condign punishment by the magistrates, still the exasperated multitude gave utterance to their feelings in several wanton acts of mischief.

CHAPTER VI.

From the Rebellion in 1745, *to the present Time.*

INFORMATION having been received by his majesty of the proposed invasion by the pretender's son, one of the secretaries of state immediately transmitted intelligence of the circumstance to the magistrates, who answered the communication in a dutiful and loyal address to the throne. The city was much agitated by a subsequent notice that Charles had landed in Lochaber, and the most effective measures were adopted for its defence at this alarming crisis. The town's guard was re-inforced with a company of the trained bands; the city walls were repaired; thirty men were added to the town's company of fusileers, and the number increased in a short time to one hundred and twenty-six; a thousand men were raised to be under the command of the lord provost and council, and to be maintained by subscription; the constables and innkeepers were ordered to keep lists of the strangers who should visit the town; and a meeting of the most respectable citizens was held, in order to obtain the benefit of their associated wisdom.

When intelligence was received of the approach of the Highland army, which had crossed the Forth above Stirling, the trained bands mounted guard in the parliament house, the volunteers in the exchequer chamber, and the Edinburgh regiment in the justiciary hall. There were also in readiness the fusileers, about two hundred men from Mid-Lothian, and three companies of seceders, or dissenters, from the church of Scotland, with their minister, the Rev. Adam Gibb, at their head. The cash belonging to the banks, and the most valuable effects of private citizens, were secured in the castle. The king's forces and the town-guard proceeded to Corstorphine, where they awaited the approach of the rebels; but

owing to the cowardice of two regiments of Irish dragoons, the resistance which they offered was but feeble. By their flight, and the desertion of the town by most of the principal inhabitants, a dreadful feeling of terror was spread through the city. Those citizens, however, who continued firmly at their post, held a meeting, at which it was agreed that they should treat with the enemy. Commissioners for this purpose met with some of the Highland chiefs. Whether at this meeting it was agreed that the rebels should be admitted into the town does not appear, but at all events next morning, the gates being opened to let out a coach, the Highlanders burst in, secured the gates, made prisoners of the soldiers who were on guard, and possessed themselves of the arms and ammunition belonging to the city. The castle, however, was still held on the side of royalty by general Guest, who displayed the flag, and fired some cannon, in order to warn those who had delivered up the city not to come near him. The heralds were ordered to announce at the market cross the commission of regency which the prince had received from his father, together with a promise of pardon for all crimes previously committed by those who might accede to his party, and a pledge for their enjoyment of civil and religious privileges. The army then repaired to the king's park, and the prince took up his residence in Holyrood-house, where he was visited by great numbers, to whom he was most affable and obliging. From this place he issued an order, demanding of the inhabitants of Edinburgh and the surrounding country the delivery of the arms and ammunition which they had in their possession; and about the same time he exacted of the city a contribution of a great variety of utensils for the use of his army, which the people, compelled by the penalty of military execution that was threatened against them, proceeded to furnish, by laying a rate of two shillings and sixpence sterling in the pound on all lands and tenements within the city and liberties of Edinburgh. The inhabitants, notwithstanding, were exposed to the lawless

pillage of the soldiery, till an edict was issued against it by the prince.

The Highlanders, now amply supplied by the citizens, marched to Presten-Pans, where they defeated the king's forces. On their return to the city, the *soi-disant* regent intimated to the ministers his permission for their continuing to administer the ordinances of religion as before, with the limitation, that in the prayers for the royal family no names should be specified. Most of the clergymen, however, deserted their churches, and the only three who remained, of whom were Messrs. Niel, Mac Vicar, and Pitcairn of the west church, persisted in praying for the Hanover family without the slightest interruption from the rebels, many of whom went to hear them. At the same time, the chevalier, who acted on the wise idea that moderation was the most likely means of success, allowed the money belonging to the banks to be restored, and the business to go on as usual.

On the 25th of September an alarm, which was excited by some noise near the castle, and which it was supposed had been owing to an attempt on the part of the rebels to seize upon the fortress, gave occasion to an order to fire upon the guard-house at the west port, an act which made the regent preclude all intercourse between the castle and the city. This measure gave great offence to the governor, who, not wishing that any lives should be wantonly lost, informed the lord provost that he should be under the necessity of firing upon the rebels if the communication was not renewed. Some time after, however, certain persons, while in the act of carrying provisions to the castle, were fired at by the centinels of the Highland guard, in consequence of which the garrison pointed their cannon against the town, wounding a few individuals, and injuring some of the houses. The communication was a second time intercepted by the rebels, and a second cannonade from the castle took place. Any further damage, however, was spared, by a proclamation of the regent, in which he said, that though

he had it in his power to make reprisals on the estates of those who were opposing him, for the present he declined inflicting the merited punishment, and for the sake of human lives, had withdrawn the blockade of the castle. The chevalier going shortly after to England had no further connection with Edinburgh, and therefore we shall not be justified in following him through a series of adventures, to which our subject has no immediate relation.

After the suppression of this insurrection, the lord provost, Mr. Stewart, was called to account for not having defended the city against the rebels. The result of a course of legal proceedings, the longest which the annals of justiciary record, was a verdict of not guilty. In honour of his acquittal, and to testify their high opinion of the past services of Mr. Stewart, some of the most respectable inhabitants of the town wished to call a public meeting, and intimated this intention in the newspapers; but, as the lord justice Clerk and some others, who had consulted together on the subject, conceived that such a meeting would not be expedient, and as the new lord provost expressed his opposition to it, the design was not effected.

An election of magistrates was to have taken place about the time when the Pretender had got possession of the town; but the council was afraid to proceed in it, and Edinburgh remained destitute of regular government from Michaelmas 1745 till October 1746, when the citizens made application to the king for a power to elect their magistrates as before. In pursuance of the royal mandate, the corporations met in November, and made choice of their magistrates and council. The persons appointed to superintend the election reported it to government, by which it was confirmed on the 17th of December. An address was then prepared by those who had been chosen, and presented to the king, in which they thanked him for restoring the right and freedom of election, and pledged their fidelity to him, and to the trust committed to them: they

also voted the freedom of the city to the duke of Cumberland, in return for his important services, and conveyed the charter for this honourable privilege in a gold box, which had the city arms finely embossed on the outside of its lid, with the duke's arms, and an inscription to the following effect within it:

S. P. Q. E.
Gulielmum
Georgii Filium,
Cumbriae Ducem,
Sub cujus Auspiciis,
Magistratibus Auctoritas,
Senatui Majestas,
Reip. Pax reddita,
Civitate donavit:
Civis Civitate
Decus et Tutamen
Præstitit:
Civitas Civi
Obsequium et Fidem
Pollicetur.

The box, accompanied with a very laudatory epistle, was sent to the duke at that time abroad, who was pleased in a gracious manner to receive, and gratefully to acknowledge the favour.

The decisive battle of Culloden entirely extirpated the remains of rebellion in Scotland. On that occasion, the duke of Cumberland put a deep and politic stigma on the pretender's cause, by ordering fourteen of the rebel standards which he had taken, to be burned at the public cross at Edinburgh. The pretender's standard was particularly disgraced, being carried by the common executioner, the others were borne by chimney sweepers, and the heralds proclaimed the names of the commanders to whom they had belonged, as they were thrown into the fire.

The Rebellion was followed for some years by frequent trials and attainders, and by perpetual presentations on the part of the relations of those who had been concerned in it, of claims to the property which had been forfeited; but, besides punishing for the past, government thought it necessary to adopt preventives for the future, and for this purpose to deprive the highlanders of their peculiar dress, which, it was conceived, had a tendency to perpetuate the feudal spirit and character. In January 1749, accordingly, public notice was given by the sheriff, that all persons found within the county of Edinburgh wearing the highland dress, should be prosecuted. Imprisonment was the consequence to many who disregarded this mandate.

In the year 1750, certain persons who had promoted an act for the encouragement of fisheries, were honoured with the freedom of the city for their meritorious exertions. Several ships were fitted out by adventurous individuals for the Greenland trade, which owing to a tedious outward passage of forty days, and to the interruptions of the ice, returned without accomplishing the intended object. Of those that were sent out on another occasion some were lost, while the remainder were unsuccessful. The projectors, however, not being discouraged by these disasters, a third attempt was attended with better results. At the suggestion of the Free British Fishing Society, subscriptions were made about this time for erecting a fishing chamber.

In 1751, the Weigh-house men or porters, having assisted in carrying smuggled goods into the city, were discharged from acting in that capacity; and three of them were rendered incapable of ever after enjoying the public trust, or any freedom or privilege in the city.

A subterranean chamber fourteen feet square, was in 1754 discovered in the Castle-hill. There were found in it an image of white stone with a crown on its head, supposed to be a representation of the Virgin Mary; two brass candlesticks;

about a dozen of ancient Scottish or French coins; and some trinkets mixed with the rubbish. This, in all probability, had been part of a house, which in some disturbance of the city had been demolished by the guns of the castle. During the same year, a great number of robberies took place in Edinburgh.

In 1756, the Old Cross was pulled down, some of the citizens having the night before this event met to drink its dirge. A beautiful pillar which stood on the middle of it, consisting of an octagonal stone above 20 feet high, and 18 inches in diameter, and spangled with gilded thistles, fell and was broken, one of the pullies having given way while lowering it to the ground. In this year the pressing of seamen for the war, which was then commencing, was very much encouraged by the magistrates; a riot took place in consequence, which required the assistance of the military, but it produced no serious effects. A reward was offered by the town-council for the discovery of the rioters, and they gave orders that none but seamen should be pressed. We find, however, in the following year, that landmen were equally included in the press. In the course of the year 1756, a great dearth was experienced throughout the country, in consequence of which the city suffered greatly; but effective and judicious measures in these circumstances were adopted for the relief of the lower orders of the community.

The exploits and character of the celebrated Frederick of Prussia, filled the country with admiration in the year 1758, which was shewn by the manner in which his birthday was celebrated in Scotland and England. In Edinburgh, three or four hundred of the Revolution club met in honour of that day. It had been proposed and advertised on this occasion, that some anthems should be sung with the songs which had been selected, but the opposition which this unseemly association received from several members on the evening of the meeting, occasioned the sacred music to be withdrawn. On this evening, the

company of hunters were to have had a ball in Holyrood-house, but their amusements were suspended for that time, by the death of the duke of Hamilton, keeper of the palace, and the articles which had been provided for the entertainment, were sold off for the benefit of the poor. Various acts were this year passed with a laudable view to the cleanliness of the city, and collections were made for several persons who had suffered at different times by fire.

The appearance of captain Thurot's squadron off the coast of Islay, gave occasion in 1759 for various measures for the establishment of a national militia for Scotland. A meeting was held in Edinburgh on the 30th of November, of those who were friendly to that project, and a committee was appointed to frame the plan of an act, by which the laws relating to that matter in England, might be adopted, with such alterations as the peculiarities of Scotland might require. A plan was prepared, which proposed six thousand as the number for Scotland, and copies of it were circulated through the country. In February of the year 1760, the town-council came to several resolutions, authorizing and requesting their representative in parliament, to advocate the cause of a bill for promoting the object; and much about the same time, the convention of the royal boroughs directed their president to send a letter to every royal borough recommending a similar measure. The lord provost, acccordingly, wrote a letter, into which he introduced the following resolution: "During the greatest part of last summer, all the boroughs situated upon the sea-coast of Scotland, continued under the justest apprehensions of being insulted or even destroyed by captain Thurot's squadron; we are now informed he is on the coast of Islay, and the enemy must always have it in his power, by an inconsiderable force, to distress and alarm the inhabitants of this country, while they remain unarmed and undisciplined. The annual committee are therefore persuaded, that the royal boroughs of Scotland will shew a becoming zeal in a matter

which so nearly concerns the well-being of the state, and the preservation of the happy government under which we live, and will immediately send proper instructions to their members in parliament in favour of this national measure." The answers, which were returned by many of the boroughs, conveyed their hearty approbation of the plan, and intimated that they had recommended it strongly to the attention of their representatives in parliament. At a meeting of freeholders and other gentlemen, which was held at Edinburgh on the 4th of May, it was resolved that each should use his influence for procuring a meeting of gentlemen in the county to which he belonged, in order that the different members of parliament belonging to Scotland, might be instructed to endeavour, by every means in their power, to procure the enactment of a law for the establishment of a militia in Scotland, on the same footing as in England. The result of those various exertions was, that after some debate on the 12th of the following March, a bill was ordered in by the Commons, for establishing a militia in Scotland, by a majority of 91 to 43.

A singular disturbance took place in the theatre on the 16th of January, 1760. The farce of *High Life below Stairs*, in which servants are represented as having been discovered in the act of aping their superiors, had been acted to the great offence of the footmen. It had been announced for this evening; but at the hour when it should have commenced, Mr. Love, one of the managers, came forward and read a letter, the purport of which was, that seventy persons had pledged themselves to oppose the obnoxious farce, though at the expence of fame, honour, and interest. The audience, however, called out for the play: it was proceeding, when the footmen in the gallery endeavoured to interrupt it by raising a noise. The people in the pit threatened to turn them out, should they not be silent. This having no effect, they were forcibly expelled, the managers receiving orders never to admit them again into the gallery. Anonymous letters, however, con-

tinuing to be sent to the managers, the company of hunters offered a reward of twenty guineas for the discovery of the authors.

Resolutions, begun by gentlemen in Aberdeenshire against the pernicious practice of Vales, or giving drink money to servants, were now very generally adopted throughout the country. The grand lodge of Scotland, the select society in Edinburgh, the advocates and clerks to the Signet, and the Scots hunters, of whom there were fifty, both noblemen and gentlemen, that signed the resolutions, publicly expressed their disapprobation of Vales; and through their influence, in connection with that of most of the counties, the abolition of this custom was happily effected.

On the 17th of September of the same year, a meeting of the parish schoolmasters in Scotland having been held, it was resolved to form a plan for raising a fund, to be applied to the support of their widows and orphans, and which is now known by the name of the Widows' Fund. They ordered the design to be notified to all their brethren by a circular letter, and appointed a committee of twelve of their number, to meet on this affair at Edinburgh, in November, March, and May.

The melancholy news of the king's death was brought to Edinburgh on Tuesday, October the 28th, by a private gentleman, and by several expresses arriving after him. On the evening of the same day, a king's messenger brought the order of the privy-council for proclaiming a successor; with copies of the proclamation, both addressed to the lord advocate, who, without delay, communicated the information to the lord provost of the city, the high sheriff of the county, and to all the sheriffs in Scotland, accompanied with copies of the proclamation, and with orders for the immediate announcement of the prince of Wales as the new king. A few of a detachment of light dragoons, which had been ordered by the commander in chief of the forces in Scotland to take its

station in the suburbs of the city, patrolled the streets through the night, two and two together on horseback, with drawn swords; but there was not the slightest disturbance. On the following morning, the Castle flag was hoisted half up the flag-staff, and minute-guns began to fire at one o'clock, continuing till the number fired equalled the king's age. Lamentations for the late monarch were now converted into congratulations and rejoicings for his successor. The flag was raised full up, and the garrison marched without the gate to receive the procession, and to assist at the proclamation. The lord provost had sent messages to all the noblemen and gentlemen in the neighbourhood, to the officers of the army and of the revenue, and to the principal citizens, &c. requesting their attendance on this occasion. At three o'clock, his lordship and the high sheriff of the county, preceded by the heralds, pursuivants, and household trumpets, with the city sword and mace, and accompanied by the magistrates, by the principal law officers, and persons in high civil stations, by noblemen and gentlemen of the country, and by the chief citizens, walked in procession, through two rows of dragoons, from the Parliament House to the Exchange. Having mounted the balcony, the prince of Wales was proclaimed king with the title of George the Third by one of the heralds, the lord provost and the high sheriff, separately reading the proclamation to the herald. From the Exchange they proceeded to the Castle-gate and to the gate of Holyrood-house, repeating at both places the proclamation with the same ceremonies. Each proclamation was made with sound of trumpet, and under a discharge of the artillery in the castle, and of the small arms of the troops. After going through the same ceremonies at Leith, the lord provost and a number of others returned to the city, and went to the assembly hall, where they signed the proclamation, and drank the health of his majesty, and of all the royal family, under a discharge of the small arms of the city-guard. The night concluded with bonfires, illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy.

On the 12th of November, an address was presented to the throne, congratulating his majesty on his accession. It was delivered by George Drummond, esq. late provost: and the university was not slow to express its loyalty on this interesting occasion.

The arrival of the princess of Mecklenburgh in 1761, was celebrated at Edinburgh on Saturday evening, September the 12th, by firing a round of great guns from the Castle, with vollies of small arms, which were answered by the Ranger, a war-sloop in Leith-roads. The bells, too, were rung, and the public feeling of gladness was manifested in a variety of ways. The 22nd of the month, the day of the coronation of their majesties, was also celebrated in an appropriate manner, guns were fired from the Castle and war-ships, and the magistrates, accompanied by a number of noblemen and gentlemen, walked from the Council-chamber to the Parliament-house, and drank the healths of their majesties, and the royal family, under discharges from the city-guard. There was an assembly in the evening, and the city was splendidly illuminated.

At an earlier period of the year, the city was thrown into a ferment by the report that "twenty-two members of the town-council had subscribed and addressed a letter to a great personage, agreeing to elect to a certain office, any one he might be pleased to nominate, and that he had proposed a Mr. Forrester, who had no connection with Scotland." Innumerable publications were issued on this subject, and representations against the measure were presented by the incorporations of the city. The following letter was circulated among the inhabitants, folded and sealed like a funeral letter, and written on black-edged paper:

"Sir,

"The liberty of Edinburgh, my native city, died some days ago, by a poisoned letter, and

is to be buried in Argyle Square, the 10th instant. The favour of your presence to accompany her funeral from the council-chamber to the place of interment, is earnestly entreated by,

"Sir,

"Your very humble servant,

'A. C."

"Edinburgh, April 1, 1761.

In 1763, it was proposed to improve the act of the Borough. It had been the practice for each incorporation to give in a list of six persons, of whom the council were to strike out three, and to return the other three to the incorporation, who were to elect a deacon from among them. It was thus in the power of the council to preclude three persons, although deemed eligible by their fellow citizens, from ever holding the office of deacon. On the 25th of June, the incorporations separately met, in order to get an act passed by the council, and approved by the convention of boroughs, at which the object should be to obtain for each society the power of electing its own deacons without any previous prescriptions on the part of the magistrates. This plan, however, was frustrated by the opposition of the council itself, most of whose members absented themselves, that there might not be a quorum at the times when the act was to have been passed.

The election of magistrates in September 1763, gave rise to several disputes, and protests were entered against those who had been elected, although unqualified to fill the situation of magistrate in consequence of their holding particular offices under the crown, and having discontinued mercantile employments. Some disturbances took place in November, occasioned by the scarcity of meal. Various outrages were perpetrated, and an anonymous letter of an abusive and threatening kind was sent to the town-council. The magistrates used the most effective measures to supply the necessities of the poor, and to bring the

unruly to punishment. The justices of the peace held a meeting, at which they agreed to give orders to the farmers in the county, to thrash out so much of their oats as might meet the demands of the city, and to bring it to Edinburgh, where they would receive the current price, not exceeding 9d. per peck. Upon investigation at a subsequent meeting, it was found that the requisition had been very generally complied with, and at this meeting it was agreed to dispense with the fixed price, which had been designed only for a temporary expedient. A scarcity of meal appearing again in the following year, the lord provost ordered as much of that commodity as could be procured, to be brought to the public market and sold; and it was enacted, "that none who buy victual to sell again, keep more than for maintenance of his family till new corn, but the victual be presented to markets, and sold at current price; that none keep old stacks in their yard longer than Christmas, both under penalty of escheat to the king; and that it be lawful for all the lieges to deal in buying and selling of victual." About a year after, however, a riotous disposition displayed itself again, which was so far beneficial, as to lead to certain enactments favourable to the importation of grain and meal into the city.

The following advertisement, which appeared in the Edinburgh Courant of date August 30th, may be inserted in this place, as having been a very uncommon circumstance, and as exhibiting the first, and, it is probable, the last instance which ever occurred in Scotland of the horrid traffic in human flesh. "To be disposed of, a negro woman named Peggy, about nineteen years of age, born and brought up in Charlestown, in the province of South Carolina; speaks good English; an exceeding good house-wench, and washer and dresser; and is very tender and careful of children. She has a young child, a negro boy, about a year old, which will be disposed of with the mother. For particulars inquire of the publisher of this paper." The newspapers of that period contain also an account of a disturbance which took place in the theatre, in consequence

of some misunderstanding subsisting between the managers and one of the players. "This individual was for particular reasons prohibited by them from performing. Some gentlemen, however, having patronized him, repeatedly insisted that he should be engaged. This the managers refused, and a riot ensued, which put a period to the entertainment for the night. The managers at length were induced to promise compliance; which, however, they afterwards thought fit publicly to retract, and in handbills which were circulated by them and the rest of the players, endeavoured to defend their conduct. Their arguments, however, were unavailing: a number of gentlemen had been offended at their behaviour, and on Saturday evening, insisted that one of the players, in name of the rest, should beg pardon of the audience, for some reflections contained in their publications. This satisfaction, however, being refused, the gentlemen became so exasperated, that after begging the ladies to retire, they tore up the benches in the pit, and having laid them by way of temporary bridges across the orchestra, got upon the stage, cut to pieces the scenes, broke the looking-glasses, beat down the fronts of the side-boxes and galleries, and demolished the theatre in such a manner, as to render it impossible to perform there for some time. The city-guard were sent to the place, but were repulsed. The magistrates then demanded the assistance of the military from the castle, but the disturbance was over before they arrived."

Mr. Wilkes, though so popular in England, was by no means admired by the people of Scotland; for in July, 1768, they carried him through the city, hanged and burnt him in effigy.

On the 27th of February, 1769, the great Douglas cause was decided in the house of lords. The process was begun at the end of the year 1762, and the question had been determined in favour of the duke of Hamilton, in the court of session, by the president's casting vote. Several anonymous letters couched in the most violent, scurrilous, and ill-spelt language, were

sent on this occasion to the president, the right honourable sir Robert Dundas, threatening him with the fate of captain Porteous, if he did not vote in the house of lords in favour of Mr. Douglas. These letters excited universal indignation; rewards to a great amount were offered by the magistrates, by government, and by the parties in the law suit, for the apprehension of the miscreant who had written them: but to return to the cause itself, the decision of the court of session, after a variety of long and eloquent pleadings, was reversed by the house of lords. The different litigations, both on the continent and at home, cost, as was conjectured, the prodigious sum of £100,000. The news of the result was received in Edinburgh with every mark of tumultuous approbation. Illuminations took place, but the mob breaking the windows that were not lighted, and committing other disorders, made it impossible to discriminate between those expressions of joy which were voluntary, and those which were compulsatory. To put an end to those scenes, a party of the military was brought into the city, and for two nights troops of dragoons patrolled the streets, in various parts of which guards also were stationed. A hand-bill by the magistrates, advised the citizens to use every means to restrain the unruly proceedings of the people, offering a reward of £50, for the discovery of certain persons who had abused the judges, and an additional £50 for the detection of any of the actors in the riots. The rejoicings on account of the success of Douglas, were not confined to the metropolis, but pervaded the whole of Scotland.

The theatre was opened in the winter of 1770 by Foote, he having made an arrangement for this purpose with the Patentee, who returned to one of the London theatres. The play announced for the 24th of November was the *Minor*, this, as the play bills stated, was fixed on at the desire of a person of distinction. In justice to the lord president, however, who was the gentleman referred to, it may be mentioned that he had only ordered the entertainment without specifying the play,

and, that, when he understood the Minor was to be performed, he requested that the ludicrous and profane epilogue in ridicule of Mr. Whitfield, under the character of Dr. Squintum, might be omitted. Some of the audience, however, were determined to have it recited; and, accordingly, placing themselves in the pit, called out for Dr. Squintum. After pausing to see if the noise would subside, and then sending to know the sentiments of the auditory, Foote himself at last made his appearance, dressed for the character of major Sturgeon, and requested that the epilogue might be dispensed with, on the ground of the adage, "De mortuis nil nisi bonum." But after much altercation among the audience, in the end Foote was obliged to speak the epilogue. This being Saturday evening, Mr. Robert Walker, one of the ministers of the High Church, next day in presence of the lords of session, barons of exchequer, and the magistrates, expressed himself from the pulpit in the following manner. "I cannot read this verse, (2 Cor. chap. v. ver. 17, on which he was lecturing), without expressing the just indignation I felt upon hearing that last night, a profane piece of buffoonery was publicly acted, in which, unless, it hath undergone very material alterations, this sacred doctrine, and some others connected with it, are introduced to the stage for no other purpose, than to gratify the impiety and excite the laughter of thoughtless, miserable, dying sinners. I had occasion some years ago, to deliver very fully from this place my opinion of theatrical entertainments in general; an opinion *then* supported by the laws of my country. And as my sentiments in that matter were not formed upon such fluctuating things, as the humours, maxims, or decrees of men, it is impossible that any variation in those can alter them: though perhaps I should not have thought it necessary to remind you of them at present, had not so gross an outrage upon the very passage that occurs this day in my course of lecturing challenged me to do it. When I say this, I do not mean to make any sort of apology for using my

undoubted privilege to walk with perfect freedom in the King's highway. I mean the highway of the King of Kings. If any jostle me in that road, they, and not I, must answer for the consequences. I here speak upon oath; I am bound to declare the whole counsel of God; and *wo is to mē if I preach not the gospel.* If men are bold enough to act impiety, surely a minister of Christ may, at least, be equally bold in reproving it: he hath a *patent* for doing so, more valid and authoritative than any theatre can possess, or any power on earth can give. Let every soul then in this assembly listen with due attention and reverence, while I again read these words of the Apostle: 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold all things are become new.'" Mr. Baine, a relief clergyman, published a sermon on this occasion, which he dedicated to Foote, and in which he exposed the licentiousness of the theatre. The first edition of this sermon was sold off in a few days. Foote afterwards made a reply to it.

On the death of the duke of Argyle, it became necessary to elect a peer in his room to sit in parliament. This election excited great interest, as it was understood, that opposition was to be made by some of the lords, to the corrupt practice which had for some time prevailed, of electing those whom the minister had recommended. The earl of Dysart was the first so proposed, but was set aside because he had no property in Scotland. Lord Stair was next mentioned by the earl of Sandwich. On the morning of the day of election, a pamphlet addressed to the peers, and exhorting them to pursue an independent course, was circulated, and eagerly perused. The election took place on the 2nd of January, 1770; and there were present twenty-eight peers. The earl of Stair was chosen in preference to the earl of Breadalbane. The opposition made to the former was conducted with the most perfect decorum and politeness, each of the noblemen paying some compliment to his personal merits, though they conceived him disqualified by

the political influence used in his behalf to represent them. The duke of Buccleugh on this occasion acted very nobly; for, though usually on the side of the minister, he asserted his right to think and act independently in this case, which he considered as involving the honour and privileges of his country. The earl of Selkirk entered a protest against the proceedings.

On the 15th of November, 1773, the members of the Revolution Club had a meeting, when several constitutional and patriotic toasts were given. It was proposed by his excellency sir Adolphus Oughton, that to preserve in the minds of the people a sense of the importance of the revolution, and to inspire proper ideas of liberty, and a hatred of tyranny, the members of the club should for the future, on the 15th of November, walk in procession to church and hear a sermon, before the club entered in their hall. The proposal was unanimously acceded to, and the clergy who were present, offered to preach the sermon in their turn.

The parliament having been dissolved, the election of a representative for Edinburgh came on in the month of October, 1774. The magistrates and town-council, after having dined together, supped in the evening with the lord provost. At this meeting, a letter which had previously been prepared, was produced in order to be signed by the company. It ran as follows: "To sir Lawrence Dundas, Sir, We take the earliest opportunity, after our election, to express our entire approbation of your conduct as representative in parliament for this city, and to desire that you will stand candidate at the ensuing general election, in which you shall be supported by our votes and interest." This letter was signed by all present, except two. The measure was loudly decried in public; and the incorporations having met to give their opinions on the propriety of signing the letter, some of them agreed to approve, and others to censure the conduct of their respective representatives. Soon after this, a merchant of the name of Loch offered himself as a candidate; and Mr. Erskine, one of the

Mar family, wishing as he expressed himself, to rescue the capital of Scotland from the degradation of being under the control of the agents of sir Lawrence Dundas, aspired to the same honour. On the day of election, the baronet having been named, a protest was entered against him by three of the deacons, for the reason that he had been guilty of corruption and bribery, of which a proof was produced in a letter that he had written to one of his agents. This occasioned some embarrassment and delay, till advice could be procured; but in the end sir Lawrence was returned.

In 1778 an unpleasant occurrence took place at Leith. A regiment under the command of the earl of Seaforth, which had been stationed in the castle and suburbs of Edinburgh, was ordered to embark in transports for Guernsey, on the 22nd of September. A difference, however, having subsisted for some time between the officers and soldiers, on the ground as asserted by the latter, that they had not received their full pay, and had been otherwise ill-treated, about one half of the men refused to sail, and, after some confusion and disturbance, betook themselves to Arthur's seat, where they were liberally supplied with provisions, and freely visited by many of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, particularly those of the lower ranks. Several parties of troops were ordered to town. A report was raised, that the highlanders meant to march through the town, and that the troops would oppose them, which report induced the magistrates to issue an order, requiring the inhabitants to repair to their houses at a particular signal. But no disturbance happened; and the men being promised pardon, their pay, and the liberty of remaining at home, a reconciliation was effected. They were marched down the hill by the earl of Dunmore, and were met at the foot of it by general Skene, whom they saluted with three cheers; and then forming a hollow square, they had the articles of agreement read to them, with an address from the general, who exhorted them to a becoming behaviour, and informed them, that every individual

might have justice done him, by application to the court of inquiry which was to be held on the conduct of the officers. They were then billetted in quarters previously to embarking.

The next remarkable event by which the history of Edinburgh is marked, was the riot in 1779, occasioned by a bill which was proposed to be brought into parliament, for the repeal of the statutes against Roman Catholics. This measure produced general alarm over Scotland. In Edinburgh, the friends of the Protestant interest presented a petition to the town-council, on the 6th of January, requesting them to oppose the bill. This petition was ordered to lie on the table, till the voice of the incorporations should be collected; and, in the mean time, the city-solicitor in London was desired to procure a copy of the bill when it should be brought in. At the next meeting of council, resolutions were presented by a great majority of the incorporations against the bill. A committee was then appointed to consult with the lord advocate; and to report, which they did on the next council-day, stating, that the lord advocate had informed them, that there was a bill similar to the English one framed for Scotland, and conveying also their wish that the council should oppose it. The report was approved of by the council, who ordered copies of the resolution to be sent by express to the representatives of the city and county of Edinburgh, and requested them to take every proper step for preventing the bill from being brought in and passed. In addition to these measures, petitions by the Protestant-interest society were prepared, and signed by a great number of persons who belonged to nine of the corporations. This society publicly announced, that counsel had been engaged to plead against the passing of the bill, and that if it did, petitions should be sent to the king to desire him to withhold his assent. The town-council, likewise, obtained the signature of the provost to petitions in name of the community, praying to be heard by counsel against the bill.

But time was not given by the people for the full operation

of these salutary and temperate measures. Copies of a letter of an inflammatory tendency were studiously dropped through the city. A copy, which had been found by one of the committee of the friends to the protestant interests, was brought by him to their clerk, through whom it found its way to the dean of Guild. The town-council, in consequence, recommended a meeting of the different incorporations, for the purpose of giving orders to servants not to take a part in any riotous proceedings. The following paragraph appeared in the newspapers: "There has been a report spread through this place, that an insurrection was intended against the Roman Catholics; and particularly that their chapel here was to be destroyed by a mob. As no friend to the protestant interest could ever have any such intention, it is no difficult matter to guess who are the authors of these incendiary letters which have been circulated to that purpose. The papists have often been detected in going even farther than reports, in order to irritate the civil government against the protestants; and there is no doubt that they are at the bottom of the present project."

On the evening of the 2nd of February, a large number of people assembled at the foot of the Trunk Close, and set fire to a house, which they conceived to be a popish chapel, but which was only the residence of the bishop. This was completely consumed, notwithstanding the exertions made by a company of fencibles, and by the city-guard, to save it. On the following day, the mob plundered of its furniture, books, &c. a house in Blackfriars Wynd, belonging to another popish clergyman. They next broke into some shops, which were occupied by Catholics, and destroyed their contents. It was thought that they also meditated an attack upon principal Robertson's house at night; but this was prevented by the arrival of some troops of dragoons and the fencibles, who put a stop to any further mischief by patrolling the streets. The magistrates, besides requiring all masters to keep in their servants and apprentices, issued a proclamation, desiring all

those who had in their possession property belonging to the unfortunate people who had been robbed, to bring it to the council-chamber on a particular day. An assurance was afterward received from government that no such bill as was dreaded was to be introduced into parliament, and no further disturbance occurred.

The war with America having broken out, and France and Spain declaring against Great Britain, meetings were held in various parts of Scotland for the support of government. At a meeting for the above purpose, assembled for the county of Edinburgh, on the 7th of June, the lord advocate, after shewing that a speedy supply of seamen was wanted, said, that instead of addressing the throne, he hoped gentlemen would do something that was efficacious; he had hastily drawn up some resolutions, which he would humbly submit to the consideration and correction of the meeting: if approved, he should move that they be immediately published in the newspapers, and he doubted not that they would have a good effect in the different counties, to the sheriffs of which he had sent letters, at the desire of the secretary of state. The resolutions were then read, and unanimously approved. Lord Hope, who had been called to the chair, next moved, that instead of an address, as had been proposed, a copy of the resolutions should be sent to the secretary of state, as a testimony of the loyalty of this county; which was likewise agreed to. They were to this effect, 1st, "That the nobility, gentry, heritors, justices of the peace, and commissioners of supply of the county of Edinburgh in their different situations, will give every assistance to the wives and families of such seamen as may be called to the service of their country in the present emergency. 2nd, In their public capacities they will give every assistance in their power to the impress service, so that those seamen who do not voluntarily offer themselves, may be compelled to give their service for the protection of the state and annoyance of the enemy. 3rd, They enjoin all constables and other peace officers in the county

to give information of all seamen lurking therein, and to assist in securing them." The lords of the admiralty signified their high sense of the zeal of the county and of the Scots in general, in promoting the service of manning the fleet.

About this time a mutiny broke out amongst a west highland fencible regiment, quartered in Edinburgh castle; among other complaints, they objected to the size of their cartouch boxes, and that it was not a part of the highland accoutrement. In order to check this spirit of insubordination, they were marched from the Castle to Leith Links, as on a common field day, where to their surprise they found a regiment of dragoons properly drawn up; cartouch boxes were presented to the fencibles, and they were ordered to put them on; six of the men who first received them refused to obey the order, and they were instantly tried by a court martial, and four of them punished in presence of the regiment, the other two being pardoned; the rest of the party then complied, as resistance would have been useless, they having neither powder nor shot, and the dragoons were well provided with both. A small number of the fencibles who had been left at Edinburgh, hearing of what was doing at Leith, drew up the bridge and took possession of the Castle, which they held all the forenoon; but upon the appearance of the dragoons the bridge was let down, and they marched in without opposition. Two of the mutineers upon this occasion were tried, one of them was condemned to be shot, and the other to receive 1000 lashes; they were, however, pardoned, on condition of serving his majesty beyond the seas.

In the beginning of December, 1779, a letter was received by the lord provost of Edinburgh from the lords of the Admiralty, acquainting him that their lordships had appointed three armed ships for regularly conveying the trade from the Nore to Leith Road, and thence to the bay of Aberdeen; and then south in the same manner, and the commanders of the vessels were to advise with the lord provost as to the time of sailing and

returning. On the 15th of March, 1780, the town-council voted the freedom of the city to admiral sir George Bridges Rodney, to be presented in an elegant box, as a testimony of their grateful sense of the signal services performed by him for his country.

The city of Edinburgh was much agitated this year by a contested election. On the 8th of September, the sheriff received the writ for electing members to represent the county and city of Edinburgh in parliament: sir Lawrence Dundas had represented the city in the last two parliaments; but having offended many of his constituents by voting with the opposition, a formidable party objected to his re-election, and William Miller, esq: was nominated as a proper candidate.

After an almost unprecedented course of proceedings, during which the lord provost, Hamilton's, capacity for business was called in question, because he had been some time confined through indisposition, sir Lawrence was elected by one party, and Mr. Miller by another. On this occasion sir Lawrence addressed the lord provost, the magistrates, and members of the council, as follows: " It gives me infinite pleasure to embrace this public opportunity of making my warmest acknowledgements to you. By a most respectable majority of the legal electors, and by a council acting under legal forms, I find myself elected a third time to represent the principal city in Scotland. The honour is very conspicuous, and my gratitude is in proportion. The peculiarities of this election, while they reflect a lustre upon your integrity and fortitude, enhance your kindness to me in a very distinguished manner. I abstain from any enumeration of the arts which have been employed to overthrow me; they are to be disregarded: with respect to my conduct in parliament, I shall observe the line which I have maintained nearly twenty years: I shall support to the best of my abilities and power the principles of our excellent constitution, and the rights and privileges of this city. Independent of any ministry, and unconnected with any factious opposition,

it shall be my constant ambition to advance those measures, which shall appear to me most conducive to the general welfare of the British empire."

Subsequently to this address, Mr. Dundas, clerk to the council of Edinburgh, reported that he had made out an indenture between him, as returning officer, and the sheriff; returning sir Lawrence, as elected, on the 7th of October, to represent the city in the ensuing parliament; and had tendered the indenture to the sheriff, requiring him to enter into, and execute the same, which he had refused to do; and had returned Mr. Miller instead of sir Lawrence. Upon this, the town-council agreed to present a petition to the House of Commons in favour of the latter. When the affair came before the parliament, it appeared from the evidence: that a part of the council, consisting of a legal quorum, with the lord provost presiding, and possessed of the sheriff's precept, did elect sir Lawrence Dundas; and that another part of the council, not consisting of a legal quorum, without authority of the lord provost, as presiding officer, and upon a *notorial copy* of the sheriff's precept, elected Mr. Miller. After a full investigation, the election of Mr. Miller was declared irregular, and he vacated his seat.

In the year 1781, the acquittal of lord George Gordon excited much interest at Edinburgh; the news was received by express on the morning of the 9th of February, and in the evening the city and suburbs were illuminated.

In February, 1782, a great fall of snow occurred in the city, which coming down from the roofs of the houses in great masses, rendered the streets almost impassable. About this time an act was passed preventing the slaughter of cattle within the city, and for removing nuisances therefrom; by this act it was provided, that no butcher should kill, or dress, any beast, within the city and royalty, or within the distance of three quarters of an English mile, to be computed from the Iron Church.

On the 5th of August, this year, a meeting was held at

Edinburgh, consisting of noblemen and gentlemen from different parts of Scotland; when it was resolved that the establishment of a national defence was necessary for the safety and honour of the country; that the meeting ought, without loss of time, to inform themselves of the present state of the laws upon this important subject; that the matter should be referred to a committee, and a bill prepared for the object of raising a militia of 25,000 men, by ballot, consisting of persons between the ages of sixteen and fifty-six, in the different parishes; the privates to serve one year, and the officers two: the men to be exercised at such times as shall least interfere with their usual time of labour; the expence was estimated at £60,000. Another meeting upon the subject took place in December following, when it was resolved, that the measure ought to be insisted on, against every opposition which it was likely to receive.

Owing to the high price of grain about this time, the ports of Scotland were opened for the importation of corn, upon paying the low duties; and the lord provost received a letter from sir William Forbes, J. Hunter, esq. & Co. bankers, signifying that as his lordship and the town-council have it in view at this time of threatened scarcity, to procure a supply of corn for the advantage of the poorer sort of the community, and as they have it much at heart, in their character of bankers, to facilitate so useful a plan, they beg leave to offer a credit with their house, to the extent of £2000 sterling, free of interest for six months; £500 was likewise offered by Mr. J. Mosman, and a subscription made at Goldsmith's Hall to the amount of £1300, for the purpose of selling meal at reduced prices.

In consequence of a memorial presented to the lord advocate by the society of Scots Antiquaries, they received a charter on the 29th of March, 1783, erecting them into a body politic and corporate; on this occasion they informed the public, that the numerous and valuable donations which they had already received would not be allowed to perish, but be perpetually

preserved under the patronage of the sovereign, and the protection of the laws of the country, and at the same time solicited further donations.

A serious disturbance took place this year at Edinburgh, in consequence of a report that Messrs. Haig's, at Canonmills, were in the habit of distilling from oats, oatmeal, peas, beans, and potatoes; a mob assembled with the intention of destroying the works, but meeting with resistance from Mr. Haig's servants, who were armed, one man was killed on the spot, and the sheriff attending with his deputy, the rioters were dispersed without further mischief. A few days afterwards another party, more numerous than the former, assembled by beat of drum, and armed with sticks and bludgeons, proceeded to Canonmills, where a strong military force was stationed to protect the works, and prevent their access. A number of shots were fired by the soldiers, and several of the rioters were wounded; but they still persisted in their object. Some of the party set fire to a hay stack at a short distance from the distillery, which was entirely consumed, together with some empty barrels which were found on the spot. The sheriff, who was again present, represented to the rioters that as this was the second outrage, if any further attempt was made upon private property, or the military annoyed, no mercy would be shown. Accordingly, no stones were thrown as before, nor any insult given, but that of offensive language. At one time, however, they pressed so close as to be almost upon the points of the bayonets, when the men were ordered to present, and the mob instantly drew off. Upon being disappointed at Canonmills, they threatened the sheriff's house; but upon receiving information that a detachment had been sent for its protection, they desisted. In consequence of these violent proceedings, the gentlemen of the county agreed to come forward personally with their tenants and servants, and in case of any further breach of the peace, to repel force by force. A letter having been sent about this time to the duke of Richmond, on the

subject of parliamentary reform, signed by the secretary of a committee, formed at Edinburgh for that important purpose; his grace sent the following answer:

Sir,

I received your letter, inclosing the resolutions of the citizens of Edinburgh, and requesting my assistance in support of their petition to parliament for altering the present mode of electing their representatives. I trust, sir, that the part I have taken in support of every measure, that tends to restore to the whole nation the right of every individual to have a vote in electing the representative, who is to make laws by which he is bound, will be a sufficient pledge that I should support every plan for extending the right of suffrage beyond its present narrow limits. The city of Edinburgh may therefore be assured, that I shall always be ready to assist the reform they propose, and am happy to see that they are taking those steps, which will prove that they are in earnest in their attempts to recover their rights.

Signed, RICHMOND LENOX AUBIGNY.

Early in February, 1785, a meeting of the grand lodge of free masons was held at Edinburgh, when the right honourable lord Haddo was called to the chair; a petition was then moved and read, signed by several respectable master masons, praying for a charter by which a lodge should be erected, and designated by the name of the Roman Eagle, and all the business of it to be conducted in the latin language. After some trifling opposition, the charter was granted, and the lodge met for the first time on the 17th of the same month.

This year the citizens experienced much inconvenience, in consequence of a very general circulation of counterfeit copper coin having been suddenly suspended; and because the counterfeits were mostly in imitation of those of the present reign. Many shopkeepers refused the genuine coin without discri-

mination; numerous complaints were made to the magistrates of such refusal to take the lawful coin, and several persons were fined on that account; it appeared upon proper examination, that three of the counterfeits were not equal to one of the genuine halfpence. On the 28th of May, there was a meeting of the merchant's company of Edinburgh, to take into consideration, the tax intended to be laid upon retail shops; and it was unanimously resolved, that the impost was partial and oppressive, and the provost was requested to assist sir Adam Ferguson, the city member, in opposing the measure. On the 1st of August, the foundation of the South Bridge was laid, in presence of the provost, the magistrates, the brethren of all the lodges of free masons, and many of the nobility and gentry. In the foundation stone were cut several holes, in which were lodged some coins of his present majesty. These were covered with a plate, having a latin inscription, in substance as follows:

"By the blessing of the Almighty God, in the reign of George III. the father of his country, the Right Honourable George Lord Haddo, grand-master of the most ancient fraternity of Freemasons of Scotland, amidst the acclamations of a grand assembly of the brethren, and a great concourse of people, laid the first stone of this bridge; intended to form a convenient communication between the City of Edinburgh, and its suburbs, and an access not unworthy of such a City. This work, so useful to the inhabitants, so pleasing and convenient to strangers, so ornamental to the City, so creditable to the country, so long, and so much wanted and wished for, was at last began, with the sanction of the king and parliament of Great Britain, and with universal approbation in the provostship of James Hunter Blair, the author and the indefatigable promoter of the undertaking, August 1, in the year 1785, and in the area of masonry 5785; which may God prosper."

In February, 1786, the landed interest of Scotland, assembled at Edinburgh in the Parliament-house, in order to consider

of the distresses of the country, owing to the rigorous execution of the laws relative to distilleries; when a number of persons delivered their opinions, and stated the embarassments which they and their tenants experienced, in consequence of the sale of barley being almost suspended. It was at length agreed, that letters should be written to all the Scottish members, requesting them to wait in a body upon the lords of the treasury, to solicit from them such redress, as it was in the power of the crown-officers to grant.

On the 19th of March, a most daring attempt was made by some prisoners in the Tolbooth, to effect their escape. Two or three of them contrived to make their way into an apartment, where the keys of all the felons' rooms were deposited, and where the instruments were kept for screwing and unscrewing the irons of the prisoners. Having possessed themselves of the keys, &c. they set the other prisoners at liberty, so far, that they were able to walk at large in the common hall, and were ready to seize the first opportunity of securing the key of that door also, when the turnkey (who did not sleep in the prison), should come in the morning, to execute the duties of his office. In the morning, accordingly, the turnkey made his appearance, accompanied by a porter, who was appointed to clean out the different apartments. To their great surprise, they perceived the prisoners all collected in the hall, who immediately commenced an assault upon the turnkey; but he being aware of their design, had secreted the key, without being observed by his assailants. They, however, threw him upon the ground, and continued to kick and trample upon him till his life was in danger. He then informed them, that if they would allow him to rise, he would deliver to them the key. To this they agreed. He then requested, that as he was faint from the treatment he had received, he might be allowed to go to the prison cellar for a glass of something to revive him. This was likewise complied with, and two of the prisoners were directed to accompany him, in case any deception was intended.

Arriving at the cellar door, the turnkey summoned his remaining strength, and making a spring from his attendants, succeeded in getting into one of the debtor's apartments, and bolted the door within, before they could follow him. An alarm was then given from the window, and the town-guard, after displacing the lock of the hall door, entered the prison. When the guard entered, they found the hall empty, the prisoners having betaken themselves to their respective rooms, and some of them had the audacity to pretend a total ignorance of the whole transaction. In April, the following year, another plan was formed for liberating the prisoners in the Tolbooth. A woman who frequented the prison, conveyed into it knotched knives, for sawing asunder the bars, and ropes for lowering the men, likewise bludgeons to be used in case of resistance. Some people were to be employed without, to divert the centinels from their duty, while the escape was to be effected; but the night previously to the intended attempt, a discovery was made, and the prisoners were placed in greater security.

In February, 1787, the magistrates sold the whole of the city walls, extending westward, from the centre of Laurieston Road, and opposite Watson's Hospital, to the New Reservoir in Heriott's Garden, under an agreement that it should be immediately taken down. At the same time were sold the materials of the wall from the Potter Row Port, eastward, to the South Bridge; the removal of these walls, was highly beneficial to the general appearance of the city.

In the month of June, the workmen employed about a foundation for one of the houses on the South Bridge found a quantity of coins, deposited in a cavity, which appeared to have been made purposely for their reception. The pieces were about the size of a sixpence, and were evidently of the time of Edward I. commonly called Longshanks: on one side was the inscription, Edwar. Angl-dns. Hyb.; and on the reverse, Civitas London. The letters were quite entire, and many of the pieces were sold by the workmen at fourpence

each. It may be osberved, that in the year 1295, Edward defeated the Scots at Dunbar; made himself master of Edinburgh, Sterling, and other places; carried off the Regalia of Scotland, with the famous chair from Scoon; and burnt the records of the country. This chair is now in Westminster Abbey.

On the 4th of August, the celebrated philanthrophist, Howard, arrived at Edinburgh, and next day visited the Tolbooth; where having asked the prisoners a number of questions, he expressed some dissatisfaction at the state of the jail; and observed that he had seen it five years before, and expected now to have found a new one in its stead, which would have been more beneficial than the erection of the South Bridge; he recommended washing the walls with *lime* and water, and the magistrates paid him so much respect, as to order it to be immediately done.

In January, 1788, a very important cause was brought for decision before the court of session. Some time before, the magistrates, in order to increase the funds for the poor, applied to parliament for an enactment, that in future, all the inhabitants of Edinburgh, of whatever description, should pay a certain tax. The members of the college of justice considering this an infringement of their rights, petitioned to be heard against the clause, which was granted, and the bill was abandoned. Soon afterwards, the magistrates passed an act of council, empowering their collectors to levy a certain sum upon all, without distinction; consequently a bill of suspension was procured, at the instance of the dean and members of the faculty of advocates, and writers to the signet. The cause came on to be heard by the lord ordinary, and after being proceeded in at great length, it was finally decreed, that the privilege of exemption from such assessments, belonged to the members of the college of justice, both by statute and usage.

The anniversary of the Revolution of 1688, was celebrated at Edinburgh, November the 5th, 1788; and the clergy vied

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with each other, in describing to their audiences, the civil and religious liberties that were secured by that great event. In December, the members of the Revolution Club held their centenary jubilee in the parliament-house, where an elegant dinner was provided; three or four hundred persons of the first respectability were present, many loyal toasts were drank, and the evening was concluded with harmony and decorum.

The king's recovery in 1789, diffused a general and enthusiastic joy throughout the nation; and the magistrates of Edinburgh appointed the 9th of March for a general illumination of the city: nothing could exceed the ardour displayed by all ranks upon this memorable occasion, and never was there an illumination so general and so brilliant; a number of tasty and appropriate transparencies were exhibited, and the house of the lord provost was particularly distinguished by a figure of Britannia, with her usual accompaniments and appropriate inscriptions.

The professors of music in Edinburgh, having formed themselves into a society, upon the plan of the Musical Fund in London, proposed to hold an annual concert for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the society. Accordingly, the first was performed on the 19th of April, 1791, and it was attended by a numerous company of the nobility and gentry. Shortly afterwards, an extraordinary meeting was called of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; the purpose of which was to announce a princely donation to the society of £10,000, in the 3 per-cent. annuities. The history of the correspondence, which for several months had been carried on upon this interesting business, was stated at length; from which it appeared, that the benefactor had taken the most effectual measures to conceal his name, and seemed particularly anxious that it should not be discovered. The members agreed, that though their own gratitude might influence them, to publish an acknowledgment of the bounty of their unknown patron in the newspapers; yet

they were bound to consult the feelings of a person, who had evinced so much delicacy of mind, and for that reason, determined to forbear such a publication. They resolved, however, that a narrative of so great an event, so far as they might find themselves at liberty at the time, should be laid before the public, in the appendix to the next anniversary sermon, to be preached before the society, and printed as usual.

In August 1791, the magistrates expressed their disapprobation of the barbarous practice of boxing, by summoning before them, two of its amateurs for a breach of the peace. These men were fencing masters by profession, and met by agreement, in a large room in Black Friars Wynd. After choosing their seconds, and the other necessary attendants, the combat commenced, and continued an hour and a half, when one of them having three of his ribs broken, and one eye entirely closed, gave up the contest. They were eventually fined by the magistrates, one guinea each, for the benefit of the Charity Work-house; and bound to keep the peace for two years, under a penalty of £50; the bottle-holders and seconds, were likewise bound to keep the peace for twelve months.

The magistrates having received information, that the populace intended to burn an effigy of Mr. Dundas, in consequence of his opposition to the Scotch borough reform, were determined if possible to prevent the ceremony, which was to take place on the king's birth day in 1792. They accordingly brought into the town some troops of dragoons, who in the morning of the 4th of June, made their appearance; riding furiously and insultingly through the streets, with their swords drawn. This proceeding, instead of intimidating, provoked the indignation of the people; who saluted them with hooting and hissing. In the after part of the day, the magistrates and others were assembled in the parliament house, to celebrate the day, by drinking the usual healths and loyal toasts; while the populace were amusing themselves with the sport customary upon these occasions, by throwing innoxious missils at each

other, and at the city guard, who were drawn up to fire vollies as the healths went round. Some officers of dragoons appearing at this time incautiously in the street, the resentment of the people was revived, and they proceeded to acts of insult, which induced the officers to order out their men, and direct them to clear the streets; some opposition was made by throwing of stones, but at length the mob retired without further mischief.

On the evening of the next day, a number of persons assembled before the residence of Mr. Dundas, in George's Square; with a straw figure, which they hung upon a pole, and were proceeding to burn; when some friends of Mr. Dundas, who happened to be in the house, very imprudently sallied out, with an intention to disperse the mob by force; but they were soon compelled to retire, and take refuge in the house, which was instantly assailed with stones. After breaking the windows of Mr. Dundas's house, the mob proceeded to that of the lord advocate, which they likewise damaged. It then became necessary to call out the military from the castle. The sheriff attended, and read the Riot Act; but the rioters not dispersing, after repeated admonitions, the soldiers at length fired; when several persons were mortally wounded, which put a period to the riot for the present. The mob again assembled in the New Town on the next evening, with a determination to destroy the house of the chief magistrate; when a signal was made from the Castle, to the marines of a frigate, stationed at Leith, and a party of dragoons, that was quartered about a mile from the town, and upon their appearance the rioters finally dispersed.

Very general attention was about this time excited by the writings of Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine, relative to the French Revolution. Meetings of the people took place at Edinburgh, which gave considerable alarm to the government. Two medals were struck; on one of them was inscribed, *Liberty, Equality, and an End to Press Warrants:* on the

reverse, *The Nation is essentially the Source of all Sovereignty.* On another, *Liberty of Conscience, Equal Representation, and just Taxation;* on the reverse, *For a Nation to be Free, it is sufficient that it wills it.*

On the 4th of November, 1795, the lord provost, magistrates, and council, addressed his majesty on the outrageous attacks which he received on his going to the House of Peers, as follows:

"Sire,

"Struck with astonishment, as we are at the late audacious insult committed on your majesty's person, which is by our excellent constitution justly deemed sacred and inviolable, we now approach your throne, eager to testify at once our respect, our esteem, and veneration for our beloved sovereign, and the detestation we feel, of that most atrocious attempt which has been made on your person and authority; abhorrent as we are of the wicked, but contemptible hands, who wore the instruments of that insult, this sentiment in our breasts is feeble, when compared with the rooted detestation we feel of those men, unworthy to bear the name of Britons, whose principles and doctrines, hostile to all good government, and civil subordination, have a direct tendency to inflame the minds, and poison the felicity, of a loyal, a well-affected, a free, and a most happy people; of such it is our fervent prayer, that the malevolent designs may be frustrated by the wisdom of a good Providence, and our own loyal and spirited exertions. Considering this nefarious outrage as a signal for all good men to rally round the constitution, thus attempted to be violated in the person of its first magistrate, we devote with true patriotism our hearts, our hands, our property, and all we hold valuable as members of society, to the preservation of that glorious fabric; and what we deem its best security, the safety of your majesty's life, and the maintenance of that dignity and respect justly annexed to your great office. And in this noble

purpose, Sire, it is our pride, and our comfort, to think that we speak not as individuals, but utter the unanimous sense of that large and respectable community, the metropolis of this part of the united kingdoms, whom we have the honour to represent."

From this period, till the arrival of his royal highness Monsieur le Compte d'Artois, at the palace of Holyrood House, there seems little worthy of remark; and it appears almost superfluous to notice, that the exiled French prince was received with every demonstration of respect for his rank, and consideration for the misfortunes of his family. With this circumstance the year 1796 opened; and in the month of March following, at a general meeting of the county of Edinburgh, a committee was appointed to meet, with the lord provost and magistrates, for the purpose of establishing a weekly market in Edinburgh, or its vicinity, for the sale of all sorts of grain and flour. Proper regulations were made for the conduct of this market, and the dues and fees were moderate, in order to encourage farmers and dealers, to give the new market a preference, in the disposal and purchase of the first necessaries of life.

The war, into which the nation had been plunged by the levelling principles and desolating projects of the French regicides, had already called forth the most unparalleled exertions on the part of the government; but the enemy having threatened Britain with an hostile invasion, it became the bounden duty of men of virtue and property to take, with the executive, such measures as should repel any attack from without, and commotion from within the realm. Accordingly, in the month of February, 1797, at a meeting of heritors of the county of Edinburgh, with the duke of Buccleugh in the chair, some important and salutary resolutions were adopted; for example:—

"That, from the preparation avowed by the enemy, of invading this kingdom, it is the duty of every loyal subject to exert and arm himself in defence of his king and country.

"That, to prevent the various calamities and distress, which any such attempt must produce in this country, his majesty's lieutenants for the said county, do invite all persons from the age of 16 to 50 years, to enrol their names as volunteers, to be embodied, clothed, and trained to arms, under the authority and in the terms of the volunteer act.

"That, his grace the duke of Buccleugh, having signified his readiness to head and command any such persons as already have tendered, or may yet tender their services,—all persons are requested to give in their names immediately at the council chamber; or to any of the magistrates or deputy lieutenants of the city or county, at such place or rendezvous, as each deputy shall appoint in his own district, specifying their name, age, and place of abode, to be formed into battalions." This regularly raised corps, was, however, distinct from the assemblage of a few gentlemen, who met in 1794, to perfect themselves in the military exercise, and from whom originated a volunteer corps, which, in 1795, was seven hundred strong.

Here we may observe, that when the royal Edinburgh volunteers were formed, they marched in procession to St. Andrew's Church, when a very elegant and public-spirited discourse, was preached by the rev. Dr. Baird, chaplain to the corps, and principal of the University of Edinburgh, from Isaiah 41. v. vi. "They helped every one his neighbour, and every one said to his brother-be of good courage." The rev. principal began with taking a view of courage, as a religious, a moral, and a political virtue, and then pointed out the nature and advantage of beneficence. He took a summary view of the French constitution, and pointed out the miseries it had entailed upon that unhappy nation. He contrasted it with the excellence of the British constitution, as established at the period of the revolution, and paid many handsome compliments to the public spirit of the royal Edinburgh volunteers, who had stood forth with so much alacrity for its defence. The collection at the church door amounted to £67.

On the 16th of October, 1797, the news arrived at Edinburgh, of the victory of admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet, on the 11th of the same month; and the public rejoicings were of course augmented by national pride. For a victory so glorious, and so important, gained by a Scotsman, could not fail to exalt the nation to which he belonged.

Upon the arrival of the news of admiral Nelson's victory off the Nile, in November, 1798, the following address was transmitted to the duke of Portland, and by him presented to the king:

"To the king's most excellent majesty. The humble address of the lord provost, magistrates, and council of the city of Edinburgh.

"May it please your majesty,—We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the lord provost, magistrates, council, and community of the city of Edinburgh, humbly offer our heartfelt congratulations, on the late most signal and important victory with which the Almighty has blessed your majesty's arms, under the conduct of your illustrious admiral, sir Horatio Nelson. While so many other states have yielded to the destructive and insulting ambition of France, we look with respect and gratitude to our sovereign, who in times the most alarming, has stood firm to preserve the independence, the freedom, the happiness, and the honour of Britain; and we rejoice with your faithful subjects, in this new and glorious encouragement which your majesty has received, to persevere in so great and so good a cause. In this cause, we cordially pledge our lives and fortunes for your majesty's support, and we shall be happy to show, that we are not unworthy to be fellow-citizens and brothers of those brave men, who upon this, and upon former occasions, have exerted themselves so nobly for their king and their country.

"We intreat your majesty to accept our most sincere profession of loyalty to your person and government, and our

earnest wishes that your reign may be long and prosperous.—Signed by our appointment, and in our presence, and the seal of the city affixed thereto, 12th October, 1798.

"JAMES STIRLING, Provost."

On the 1st of January, 1799, the volunteers, artillery, and infantry of Edinburgh, marched to St. Andrew's Church, where the rev. Dr. Moodie preached an eloquent and animated discourse, from the 6th verse of the 122d Psalm, "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, they shall prosper that love thee." A liberal collection was afterwards made at the door for the relief of the indigent poor, and the destitute sick. Nor was this to be a solitary act of patriotic virtue. The magistrates and town-council, in the same month, came to the resolution of building a new church, and a committee was appointed to fix on a convenient spot for its erection. Local occurrences of trials for misdemeanours, accidents, and deaths, fill up our history from January till March; but in this month, we find the Edinburgh light dragoons, reviewed at Musselburgh, and exhibiting in their appearance and discipline, all the qualities of regular veteran troops. And in the following month, some little stir was occasioned in the city, by a Mr. Fitzsimmons, an episcopal clergyman, aiding four French prisoners in their escape from the Castle to Dunkirk, on board of a cartel, that sailed from Leith roads. When Fitzsimmons was tried before the high court of justiciary, in July following, he was found guilty, and was sentenced to be imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, for the space of three months. At this period, Monsieur Compte d'Artois, with his suite, set off for England; but before his royal highness quitted the Scottish capital, he addressed a courteous letter to the lord provost and magistrates, thanking them for the attentions which he had received, during his residence at Holyrood-house.

When the important news of the surrender of the Dutch fleet was received, the city of Edinburgh was equally forward with

the metropolis of the empire, in demonstrations of loyalty and attachment to the House of Brunswick, and to the constitution of Great Britain; this was manifested as well by the citizens, as by the volunteers and military in the Castle. Among the incidental news of this year, we have to notice the great celebrity which the Assembly Rooms had acquired, from the judicious management of their directors, and the fine taste displayed in the selection and execution of the music. Nor is it out of place to record, that the directors of the Bank of Scotland, with their usual spirit and liberality, lent at this time the sum of £20,000 to the city of Edinburgh, to enable the magistrates to execute without delay, the Wet Docks at Leith.

So great was the distress which prevailed among the lower classes of society in 1800, that one of the first acts of the magistrates of Edinburgh this year, was to provide a fund for supplying the poor with food and fuel at reduced prices. And to this charitable resolution, we trace the establishment of public kitchens in Edinburgh, where nearly 8000 quarts of broth, and as many rolls of excellent bread, were distributed weekly, making on an average, a substantial meal for 16,000 individuals, including children. Though the lord provost and magistrates had taken every measure, which human policy or sympathy could dictate, to alleviate the sufferings of the poor, yet the lower orders in and about the city, manifested strong dispositions to riot and disturbance; but by the timely interference of the civil and military authorities, little mischief was done.

The Union of Ireland with the crown of Great Britain, was cause of joy to the city of Edinburgh, and in the early part of 1801, this was testified in as public a manner as possible, though, from the circumstances of the times, expensive rejoicings were dispensed with. Having hitherto abstained from noticing the adoption of the Vaccine Inoculation in Scotland, it is fit we should here mention the progress which this part of medical practice had made in Edinburgh, where all ranks vied in its adoption, with the hope that that dreadful

malady, the small-pox, might thereby be totally extirpated. About this time, a benevolent institution was opened in Tiviot Row, for the employment of the destitute and industrious poor, under the name of the House of Industry.

We had occasion to notice, in its chronological order, the loan of £20,000 by the Bank of Scotland to the magistrates of Edinburgh, for the purpose of constructing the Docks and Harbour of Leith. On the 14th of May, the foundation stone was laid by Robert Dundas, esq. of Melville, deputy grand master of masons; an immense concourse of the brethren and inhabitants of Leith and Edinburgh attended to witness the ceremony. In a glass vessel, placed in a cavity of the stone, were deposited all the present current coins in this country, with a number of beautiful medals of the first character of the present age, which were previously enclosed in chrystal; and above the vessel were placed two plates, signifying when, for what purpose, and by whom the Harbour of Leith was constructed.

When the glorious news arrived at Edinburgh, of the victories of the British troops in Egypt, a sad gloom was cast over the inhabitants, by the tidings of Abercrombie's death; and the tribute which was paid to the gallant general's memory, was very impressive; for on the evening of the 2d of June, the whole brigade of volunteers marched to Bruntsfield Links, where each corps formed a separate square, and after facing inwards the whole rested on their arms, and remained in that position, while the *general orders* issued by his Royal Highness the commander in chief were read to each corps, and battalion, by its commanding officer. The battalions and corps afterwards shouldered arms, reduced their squares, formed line, unmuffled drums, fixed bayonets, and marched off by sub-divisions from their right, in quick time.

The 4th of June, the birth-day of our venerable sovereign, who now entered upon his 64th year, was celebrated by above 2000 defenders of their country, drawn out on the

occasion; and if on the 2d the crowd of spectators, who joined those brave men in paying the tribute of respect, affection, and gratitude, to the memory of a man and an officer, "upon whose like we shall not soon look again," presented a scene both solemn and impressive, the *coup d'œil* of the 4th was pleasing and animating to every friend of the constitution. Nor can we omit mentioning in this place, the public spirit and charity of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, in raising in all the churches and chapels, a most liberal contribution for the relief of the families of such brave men as had fallen in Egypt. On the 7th of September, a smart shock of an earthquake was distinctly felt at Edinburgh, Leith, and the vicinity. Though its duration was but two or three seconds, and it was not accompanied by any previous noise, or by any circumstances which usually precede that phenomenon, it shook buildings in the direction from north to south; and so extensive a shock had not been felt in Scotland since the earthquake of Lisbon.

The arrival of the news of peace in October spread great joy over Edinburgh. The populace actually took the horses from the mail coach, and having hoisted the British colours over the French, and mounted a banner on the box as an emblem of plenty, they dragged the coach with repeated shouts, down to the lord provost's villa, of Comely Bank, and afterwards for several hours through the principal streets, though it rained incessantly the whole time. At noon the volunteers and military of the castle fired a *feu de joie*, and the guns of the garrison were also fired. The city was brilliantly illuminated in the evening; and what rendered this spectacle more remarkable, was its succeeding an illumination of nature, that had on the preceding night dazzled the eyes of the people of Edinburgh; we allude to a magnificent aurora borealis, the coruscations of which were extremely vivid, luminous, and rapid. In the following month the French prisoners in Edinburgh castle were marched down to Leith, where they were embarked for their native country.

The mail arrived on the 1st of April, 1802, with the important information that the definitive treaty of peace was signed; the populace, in testimony of their joy, seized the coach, took out the horses, and dragged it to various parts of the city. The brigade of volunteers assembled at noon in the meadows, and thence marched to Princes Street, where, after the great guns from the Castle had fired a salute, they were ordered to fire a *feu de joie*, as was done on signing the preliminaries. In the evening the city was illuminated, for the proper regulations of which the magistrates issued a proclamation to the following effect:

"Peace being now established between the British empire and the other nations with whom she was at war, and the minds of all being elated with the joyful event, the lord provost and magistrates recommend to the inhabitants to illuminate the front windows of their houses, from half-past seven till ten o'clock this evening; and they further recommend to all ranks peace and good order, and prohibit the breaking of windows under the severest punishment."

About the middle of the year 1802, a petition was signed by the provost and council of Edinburgh, to be presented to the house of commons, for leave to bring in a bill for enlarging the city police, and extending the royalty over the lands of Bellvue, and certain lands to the east and west; for purchasing houses and grounds for enlarging York Place; and for various other public purposes of improvement and ornament. A petition was likewise framed for a new copper coinage, the want of which was felt as a serious inconvenience.

Early in May, the first, or royal regiment of Edinburgh volunteers, were disembodied. They paraded at twelve o'clock on their usual ground in the meadows, whence they marched to Heriot's Green, the place where they first paraded, and received their colours eight years before. Here they formed a hollow square four deep, when the lord advocate, second lieutenant colonel, (colonel Aytour being necessarily absent), read

lord Hobart's circular letter, conveying to them his majesty's thanks; also the thanks of the two houses of parliament. He also read a resolution of the town-council of Edinburgh, expressing in the strongest and most handsome terms, the thanks of the community to the whole of the volunteers of this city; and a very flattering letter from his excellency lieutenant-colonel Vyse. After the lieutenant-colonel had addressed them, the regiment was marched to the Parliament Square, where being formed, the colours were delivered to the magistrates, who lodged them in the council chamber, and the corps was dismissed.

At the levee on the 19th, the right honourable the lord provost of Edinburgh, presented to the king the congratulatory address of the city of Edinburgh, on the restoration of the blessings of peace, which was most graciously received, and his lordship had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand.

At an extraordinary meeting of the town council, it was unanimously resolved, that a subscription should be opened, for erecting in the city a statue of the right honourable Henry Dundas, as a tribute of public gratitude for his long and eminent services. A number of persons met on the 29th in Merchant's Hall, complaining of the defective state of the police, and agreed to several resolutions for improving the present system.

At a meeting of the provost, magistrates, and council of Edinburgh, held in December, a letter was read from the honourable lord viscount Melville, announcing his elevation to the peerage, and thanking them for the honours repeatedly conferred upon him in choosing him for their representative. A letter was voted to him in reply, congratulating him upon his newly acquired-honour.

In March, 1803, we find the intended scheme for a new police within the city of Edinburgh and neighbourhood in great forwardness, and likely to receive the authority of the legislature. The members of the college of justice, had agreed to

wave their privileges, in order to forward this important object; and the magistrates, by giving up part of the town's revenue, had done all in their power to procure for the city a regular and complete system of police, the want of which had been long a matter of regret. The provisions of the bill intended to be brought into parliament were numerous; among them clauses were made for the better cleansing, lighting, and watching the city and suburbs, to prevent begging, to apprehend vagrants, to regulate all kinds of vehicles, and, in short, every thing connected with good government.

About this time a renewal of the war with France being anticipated, the lord provost published a notice, stating, that application had been made to him, by many of the gentlemen who belonged to the late first regiment of royal Edinburgh volunteers, and by other respectable citizens, expressing their earnest desire to make an offer of their services to government, in the present critical situation of public affairs. His lordship, in consequence, requested the attendance of such gentlemen as concurred in those sentiments, in the new church aisle, in order to consider the proper measures that should be taken. Shortly afterwards, we find a military spirit pervading all ranks of the community: the Edinburgh royal highland volunteer regiment, was completed to the full establishment of 500 men, besides non-commissioned officers, in ten days after the acceptance of their offer of service. This was the first volunteer regiment of the above strength in Scotland, and was commanded by colonel Alexander M'Gregor Murray, and officered from the highland gentlemen resident in Edinburgh.

On the 5th of July, a loyal address by the lord provost, magistrates, and council of the city of Edinburgh, of the strongest assurances of continued affection, and attachment to his majesty's person and government; of indignation at the proceedings of the French government since the conclusion of peace; and of zeal and readiness to come forward in the present critical state of affairs, in defence of their king and country,

was transmitted by the lord advocate, and presented by lord Pelham to his majesty.

On the 15th September, the town-council unanimously voted a piece of plate to the value of fifty guineas, and the thanks of the council to Thomas Henderson, esq. lord dean of guild of this city, for his meritorious services in behalf of the community.

The 28th of February, 1805, was distinguished by one of the most violent hurricanes ever remembered at Edinburgh; the mischief occasioned by it was very general in the country and the city.

In June, the magistrates of Edinburgh received a letter from thirty-six persons, stating themselves to be prisoners of war in the citadel of Valenciennes, and as they were in the utmost want, and being natives of the city or neighbourhood, they requested the magistrates to set on foot a subscription for their relief. This was accordingly done, and in a few weeks about £150 was collected, and a remittance of three guineas was made to each person; its safe conveyance, was testified by an answer, thanking the magistrates most gratefully for such a liberal supply.

The great victory of lord Nelson on the 21st of October, 1805, was celebrated at Edinburgh on the 9th of November, with every demonstration of joy. The guns from the castle were fired, as well as those from the battery and shipping in the roads. On the 11th, the different volunteer corps fired a *feu de joie* on Leith Walk; his excellency the commander in chief, rode along the line, and afterwards to York House, where the troops passed and saluted him. The right honourable the lord justice Clerk, marched his regiment into St. Andrew's Square, where, in an animated speech, he congratulated them on the victory, and condoled with them on the lamented loss of the hero under whose auspices it was achieved. In the evening, the city, by order of the magistrates, was most brilliantly

illuminated. Thursday, the 5th of December, being the day appointed by his majesty for a general thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the brilliant success of the British arms, the churches of Edinburgh were fully attended, and most of the inhabitants appeared in mourning. Several excellent and appropriate discourses were delivered, and the collections for the benefit of the families of those who fell in the action of Trafalgar, were uncommonly liberal. The aggregate subscriptions at Edinburgh on the occasion of this memorable victory, amounted on the 1st of April, 1806, to above £9000, and those for lord Nelson's Monument to near £1200. The liberality of individuals was highly conspicuous: many noblemen subscribed £100 each; the like sum was remitted to the treasurer, by Thomas Coutts, esq. banker, in London, towards the erection of the monument.

In June, a grand dinner was given by the lord provost and magistrates, to a number of the principal inhabitants of Edinburgh, on account of the acquittal of lord Melville. They also gave two guineas to the prisoners in the Tolbooth to drink his lordship's health; and letters of congratulation were sent to him from all quarters, upon the honourable termination of his trial.

October the 21st, being the anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar, the foundation stone of lord Nelson's monument, was laid on the Calton Hill, by W. Coulter, esq. provost, and several of the gentlemen of the committee.

In the early part of 1808, a meeting of clergymen was held to consider what measures they should adopt to obtain an increase of their salaries. A great number of their livings had not been augmented for more than one hundred years, and some of them were little more than £30 a year; a list was produced of above eighty parishes under £100. The hardship of this case being so obvious, it was expected that government would grant some relief, as soon as a proper

representation was made; especially as the general assembly had entered into their views.

October the 21st, a heavy gale was experienced at Edinburgh from the south-west. In addition to the mischief usually occasioned here by high winds, such as blowing down chimney pots, &c. the large temporary building, erected on the north end of the mound, for the purpose of exhibiting the panorama of the battle of Trafalgar, was blown down, and the painting totally destroyed; this was a remarkable coincidence, it being the anniversary of the day on which the hero of Trafalgar ended his career of glory.

In pursuance of an act of parliament, passed in the last session, a national institution for promoting vaccination was established in April, 1809, under the management of a board, consisting of several members.

The 25th of October, being the anniversary of his majesty's accession to the throne of these realms, and the day in which he entered into the fiftieth year of his reign, the magistrates of Edinburgh gave public notice, that the jubilee would be celebrated in the city. Accordingly, the morning was ushered in by the ringing of the bells of the city and of Leith, from eight to ten o'clock. The lord provost, magistrates, and council at eight o'clock proceeded in carriages to the Assembly Rooms, Leith, where they joined the masonic procession, in order to lay the foundation of the military works, which out of regard to our beloved monarch, were to be denominated king George the third's bastion, and military works, for the defence of the dock, harbour, and town of Leith. After the stone was laid, a royal salute was fired from the dock, and returned by his majesty's ships in the roads of Leith. This ceremony being performed, the procession returned to the Assembly Rooms. On this occasion, all the noblemen and gentry in and about the city and neighbourhood of Leith, together with the office bearers of the grand lodge, breakfasted with the lord provost and magistrates in the Assembly Rooms at Leith. At twelve

o'clock the great guns of the castle were fired; and those of his majesty ships in the roads. The volunteers were drawn out in line in Princes' street, to fire a *feu de joie*; and at two o'clock, sermons suitable to the occasion, were preached in all the churches and chapels in the city and vicinity, when collections were made at the doors, for the relief of debtors in the gaols of Edinburgh and Canongate. An address was soon afterwards voted to his majesty, by the lord provost and magistrates, congratulating him on his having filled the throne fifty years, which was most graciously received.

In August, 1812, owing to an extraordinary rise in the price of oatmeal, a crowd of people assembled in Cowgate and the Grassmarket, for the purpose of intercepting the supplies on their way to market. Several carts were accordingly seized, and their contents distributed among the people; after which the mob proceeded to the Dalkeith road, where they seized several more carts, and retailed the meal at two shillings per peck, and gave the money to the drivers. The shops also of the victual dealers and bakers, in Nicholson's Street, and places adjoining, being threatened by the populace, were very prudently shut up. In the evening, the houses of several meal-sellers in different parts of the town were attacked, and the windows broke; at Leith also there was a considerable tumult.

As a necessary precaution, a party of soldiers was ordered out from the castle, and the following judicious proclamation was issued.—"By order of the right honourable the lord provost and magistrates of Edinburgh. The inhabitants are enjoined to avoid all riotous proceedings in the present circumstances, as any tumults that may be excited, can have no other effect, than to deter persons who have provisions, from bringing them into town, and thus to increase the scarcity. The lord provost and magistrates assure the inhabitants, that they will use all the means in their power, to relieve them from their present distresses. At the same time, as the magistrates

have every reason to know that a scarcity of grain exists throughout the country, they give the inhabitants this public notice, of their determination to make use of the powers vested in them to repress any tumultous proceedings, and preserve the peace of the city." Council Chamber, 18th of August, 1812.

The conduct of the magistrates on this trying occasion, was highly praiseworthy. A meeting of the principal inhabitants took place in the Parliament House, on the 21st of August, when it was agreed to open a subscription for the relief of the poor, and a considerable sum was collected, the distribution of which was intrusted to a committee. The money was given weekly, according to the number in a family, by the elders of the different kirk session. On the 25th of August, there was a numerous meeting of the noblemen, freeholders, justices of peace, commissioners of supply, and heritors of the county of Edinburgh, in the Parliament House, when several resolutions were entered into, to alleviate the distresses of the poorer class of the people.

On the last night of the year 1812, being the season devoted to innocent festivity, the streets of Edinburgh were disgraced by a series of riots, outrage, and robberies, hitherto without an example here. During almost the whole of the night, after 11 o'clock, a gang of fierce banditti, armed with bludgeons and other weapons, infested some of the leading streets of the metropolis, and knocked down, robbed, and otherwise most wantonly abused almost every person who had the misfortune to fall in their way.

On the morning of November the 6th, 1813, the guns from the castle were fired, and the bells of the city rung in honour of the victories obtained in Germany, and on this occasion, the city was brilliantly illuminated. Several devices in variegated lamps were exhibited, in the Royal Exchange, Parliament House, Bank of Scotland, Custom House, the new Club Room, St. Andrew's Square, and the lord provost's house, Charlotte

Square, &c.; but owing to the unfavourable state of the weather, their brilliancy was much obscured. A variety of transparencies appeared in different parts of the city, which in general were well executed, and had a fine effect. The Northampton and Antrim militia, and first regiment of royal Edinburgh volunteers met in the Assembly rooms, George Street, and went off in different directions, their bands playing a variety of tunes the whole time.

On the evening of the 15th of April, 1814, a general illumination took place again in Edinburgh, in celebration of the surrender of Paris to the allies, and the prospect of happiness and peace by the new order of things about to be established in France. On this occasion, a grand triumphal arch was thrown across the High Street, with two side arches over the pavement. The whole arrangement was tastefully decorated with shrubs; surmounting the main arch was a crown, ornamented with lamps; under all the three were variegated lamps hung in elegant festoons. Fronting the south, on the right side, appeared in large characters, the name of Wellington, and Blucher on the left; fronting the north, were, on one side, these words, *Moscow Burnt*, and on the other, *Paris Saved*. Above the name of Wellington were the feathers of the prince of Wales, neatly cut out, and surmounted with the royal standard of Great Britain and Ireland. On the other side, several fleur-de-lis, surmounted with the royal white standard of France, with this inscription, *Britain's Exertions crowned with Success, Trade, Commerce, and Agriculture now flourish.* A great quantity of coals and some tar barrels were, with much labour, conveyed to the top of Arthur's seat, and blazed during the evening with sublime effect. The white cockade was universally worn by all ranks of people, both in Edinburgh and Leith.

On the 2nd of May, the magistrates and council of Edinburgh voted an address to the Prince Regent, on the happy situation of public affairs, and they likewise agreed to address

his royal highness Monsieur le Compte d'Artois, who resided in Edinburgh for some years, on his restoration to his rights in his native country.

July the 1st, a numerous and respectable meeting of the city of Edinburgh was held in Corre's rooms, when it was unanimously resolved to petition parliament against the slave trade. Petitions were afterwards transmitted to London, and presented to both houses of parliament.

The important intelligence of the glorious and decisive battle of Waterloo, on the 18th of June, 1815, and in which the Scots Greys were so conspicuously engaged, was brought express from London to Edinburgh, by sir John Majoribanks, the lord provost, who reached the city on Saturday, the 24th of June, about eleven o'clock. The news was received by all ranks with great satisfaction, and the thanks of the town-council were the next council-day voted to his lordship for his great attention, in affording so promptly to his fellow-citizens the accounts of this splendid event.

The battle of Waterloo will ever form an interesting epoch in the annals of Europe, and would have been considered a point at which to terminate the present History, had not the event of our late sovereign's death, after a reign of unparalleled continuance, imposed upon us the necessity of adverting to a new reign. George III. died at Windsor, at about half-past eight o'clock, on the evening of Saturday, the 29th of January, 1820, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his reign. Intelligence of his decease arrived at Edinburgh on the Wednesday following, and on Thursday, the 3rd of February, George IV. was proclaimed in various parts of the city.

PART II.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRANSACTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

From the earliest Period to the Capture of James VI. by Earl Gowry.

HAVING taken a brief review of the Civil and Political Transactions relative to the City of Edinburgh, it now remains to give a Sketch of its Ecclesiastical and Literary History.

From an early period to the Reformation, Scotland lay under the dominion of the papal hierarchy, and the extreme ignorance of mankind in the early ages of Christianity, with the supposed sanctity of the clergy, who possessed the only learning of the times, together with the exuberant confidence which was reposed in them, gave rise to the many errors and corruptions which were introduced into the church; so that Christianity, as then professed, instead of being a rational and divine system of religion, was a complication of doctrines absurd in their foundation, and equally pernicious in their consequences.

The first idea of Reformation seems to have originated with Martin Luther, in Germany, in revenge of the affront cast upon the order to which he belonged, by transferring an advantageous species of religious traffic, from the Augustin, to the Dominican friars. In the course of his disputations against the sale of indulgences, his knowledge in the Scriptures became more extensive, and his ideas more enlarged; and he had the honour of being the first who planned the destruction of the Romish hierarchy, and of freeing the minds of men from that ignorance by which they had been so long

enslaved. Among other causes of the rapid progress of the reformation, may be enumerated the flattering of the vanity of mankind, by appealing to their judgments to detect falsehood; the indulging it still farther by permitting the laity to read the Scriptures, which formerly were held too sacred for their perusal; the austerity of the lives of the first reformers, so opposite to the licentious manners of the popish clergy; and the just indignation which would naturally arise in the minds of the people against those indolent drones, for having so craftily possessed themselves of a large portion of the wealth of the kingdoms in which they resided.

The art of printing, likewise, which was attended with the peculiar felicity both of exciting and gratifying an universal thirst for knowledge; the address of the reformers in representing popery as impious and damnable; and inflaming the passions against images, crucifixes, garments, and relics, which formerly promoted reverence and awe, contributed greatly to the progress of the reformation. Thus, the stream of popular opinion being diverted into a channel diametrically opposite to its former course, swelled into a torrent that shook to its foundation the mighty fabric of the papal hierarchy, which had been reared by the labour and superstition of ages. To these may be added, the peculiar causes which assisted the reformation in Scotland. As the church and state mutually supported each other, so the Reformation favoured the turbulence of the Scottish nobles, by humbling the royal cause; and at the same time flattered the vanity of the multitude, by reducing the power of both the mitre and the crown. The public declamators also, in their harangues, dwelt with enthusiasm on the just and popular topic, that the prince and the peasant would be equally acceptable with the Deity, who is no respecter of persons. The ill-judged severity of government against the leaders of the Reformation, with the courage and constancy which they displayed under their persecutions and sufferings; the imprudent conduct of Mary; the stern temper and licen-

tious behaviour of cardinal Beaton, and the ambition of the earl of Murray, all tended to promote the reformation. This nobleman proposed to himself the regency of Scotland, which, under a long minority, perhaps suggested to him still more aspiring objects; but, above all, the nobles anticipated, and afterwards realized, the possession of the large and ample revenues of the papal church.

From the paucity of authentic documents in the early Scotch ecclesiastical history, we are at a loss for information, by what positive means the reformation in Scotland originally begun. We find, however, that as early as the reign of James IV. the powers of the papal pontiff were resisted; and pope Julius, who then filled the papal chair, complains of the king thus: "James alone, of all the Christian princes, by quarrelling with his brother-in-law (Henry VIII. of England), had hitherto hindered that most pious monarch from asserting with arms the rights of the holy see." But James, who well knew that all the vicars of Christ were not infallible, and was likewise acquainted with the selfish (however pretended) motives of the leaguers against France, absolutely refused to side with the Roman pontiff, and declared that league to be illegal, for which cause Julius immediately issued his bull of excommunication; and James falling at the battle of Flowden Field, burial was denied to his corpse, until license and the consent of the pope were obtained, which were granted by Leo X, on the 9th November, 1513.

This pontiff, who succeeded Julius, was as ambitious and covetous as any of his predecessors. He had attempted, in imitation of some of them, to have both these passions gratified to the full, by engaging all the European sovereigns in a general confederacy against the Turks, whose late victories, particularly in Egypt, which they had subdued about this time, he sedulously represented as preparatory to the destruction of Christianity.

But though he was not successful in inspiring the princes

of Europe with his fears, which they attributed to their just source, yet none of them dared openly testify their dissent to so holy an intention; therefore many of them united in the confederacy, for fear of giving umbrage to the pope. Leo and the college of cardinals having succeeded so far, entertained mighty hopes of not only stopping the progress of the Ottoman arms, but of recovering the Holy Land from the possession of the Infidels. But they were mistaken: the era of crusades was past. In vain did they preach up, in every country of Europe, salvation to those who engaged in them, and in vain did they scatter the most plenary indulgencies. Their sermons made few converts. Printing had introduced learning; and superstition was rapidly on the decline. Their pardons were so far from producing the immense sums the council of Latran expected, that their validity began to be questioned, and in time even denied. Such were the causes, it is said, that gave rise to the reformation on the continent, which, in the sequel, not only freed other nations, from priestly tyranny, but produced that excellent constitution which made Britain the terror of tyrants, the perserver of the liberties of mankind, and the admiration of the world.

Anno Domini, 1532, King James fixed a college of justice in his capital, consisting of fourteen senators, half spiritual, and half temporal, with a president, who was always to be of the church. At their first meetings, the lords of session devised many excellent plans for the equal administration of justice; but their after conduct did not answer this beginning; for (says Buchanan), "seeing in Scotland there are almost no laws, but the decrees of parliament, and many of these too were temporary expedients, and that these judges with all their interest hindered the enacting of new ones," the estates of all the subjects were committed to the pleasure of fifteen men, whose will was the law. It had a further effect: for as the half of the bench were churchmen, it was their endeavour to retard the reformation, which before had made a

rapid progress in Germany, and was on the verge of being countenanced by the secular arm of England, and had many friends in Scotland.

The papal authority was now on the point of being abrogated in England; pope Clement sent ambassadors to Scotland to prevent king James from attempting the same dangerous encroachments. His holiness had reason to be content with the success of his embassy; for not only the king, but the three estates (who were then sitting at Edinburgh), acknowledged their submission to the holy see, and promised to continue their due obedience, and by a salutary exertion of the law, prevent the growth of heresy.

Accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1534, we find a melancholy proof of their determination to keep their word, by the burning of Andrew Straton and Norman Gourlay, at Edinburgh, August 27th, for Lutheranism; the sheriff of Linlithgow, James Borthwick, and others, were likewise condemned on the same account, and many fled to England under this cruel persecution. And, further, to gratify the pope, now Paul III. (Clement VII. having died during these transactions), it was ordained, in a parliament held during the summer at Edinburgh, that the ancient worship should be preserved, the church continued in all its immunities, and heretics punished with all rigour.

Henry VIII. of England, having completed the total overthrow of the papal hierarchy in his dominions, and as a finishing blow seized the precious shrine of Thomas-à-Becket, burnt his bones, and unsainted him, at which the pope became exceedingly enraged, and instantly published his terrible bull of excommunication against him, which he sent to Scotland and other European states.

This last act of Henry gave great offence to the devotees of the papal church in Scotland, and greatly incensed the well beneficed clergy, as they dreaded the influence of his example. Many invectives were published against him of so severe a nature, that James was obliged to interpose his authority and

punish their authors. Being in some degree checked in this way of showing their resentment, they spent their rage on the favourers of the new opinions. Thus several were burnt for heresy during this year; and when cardinal Beaton succeeded to the see of St. Andrews, a still greater persecution ensued. But the argument by fire was far from stopping the progress of the new doctrines, which many embraced from a conviction of their truth; and there were not a few in the kingdom who asserted, from temporal motives, that the papal authority ought to be abolished, monasteries suppressed, and the church of Scotland regulated after the manner of that of England. The new proselytes pretended to no doctrines unwarranted by the Scriptures, which being now printed in the vulgar tongue, every one might judge for himself. Nor was the English Bible read alone: the controversial writings of Luther, Melancthon, and Æcalampadius were in the hands of many, who perused them with avidity. Many also of the inferior papal clergy and friars had imbibed the tenets of the reformed, and sealed their testimony at the stake.

By the ministry of John Knox and his colleagues, these doctrines were subsequently more widely diffused. This celebrated reformer came to Edinburgh, Anno Domini, 1555, where he delivered his discourses in private, to those who favoured the Reformation; he declaimed with great energy against all temporising, and expatiated upon the impiety of ever being present at the solemnization of the mass. The hand of power was raised against him, and he was obliged to leave the kingdom with great precipitancy; so deeply, however, had the spirit of reformation taken root by the doctrines which he had propagated, that even the powerful engines raised against it, could not prevent its spreading. The effects were manifested by the extreme abhorrence which was now very generally entertained against that idol, the mass. The learned employed their pens in ridiculing the rites and ceremonies of the papal church, and the lower orders of the people expressed

their indignation, by demolishing the images in St. Giles's Church, which so highly incensed the ruling powers, and particularly the queen-regent and the archbishop of St. Andrews, that at his instigation, she addressed the following letter to the town council of the city.

" Provest, Baillies, and Counsale of Edinburgh, we greit zou weill. Forsamekle as wee are informit, that ther is certane odeous Ballots and Rymes, laitlie sett furth be sum ewill inclinit personis of zoure Toun, quha hes alsswa tane doun diveis images, and contempuandlie brokin the samyn, quhilk is ane thing werray sclanderous to the pepile, and contrarious to the Ordinance and Statutes of Haly Kirk. And it is gewin us to understand, that the Makaris of the said misorder ar all indwellaris and Inhabitaris of zoure said Toun; quhairfoir wee chairge zou that incontinent efter the sicht heirof, ze diligentlie inquire forth and seik for thair Names, and delyver thame in Writ to our Deir Cusing the Archbishop of Sanct Androis, to be usit conforme to the Statutis of the Kirk; assuring zou gif ze do nocht zoure extreme devoir thairin to bring the samyn to lycht, that ze sal be na uther wayis estemit be us, more as favoraris and Mainteinaris of sic Personis, and sall underly the samyn ponishment that they aucht to sustene in caise we get knawlege heirof by zou."

" Subscrivit with oure hand and under oure signet, at Aberdene the 21 day of September 1556."

The inhabitants still continued to display so strong an aversion to popish ceremonies, as fully to prognosticate the downfal of papacy. On the approach of the feast of St. Giles, (the 1st of September), he being the tutelar Saint of Edinburgh, the priests and monks, according to annual custom, made great preparation for celebrating his anniversary; and fearing the new converts might disturb their proceedings, they humbly entreated the queen regent to honour the solemnity with her presence; with which request she complied, and a splendid pageant was prepared, whereon the statue of St. Giles

was to be placed, and thus carried in triumph through the city. But certain pious reformers the night preceding, stole the image of St. Giles, and committed him to the North Loch, at that time the unhallowed place where those convicted of adultery and fornication, were plunged, as a punishment for their sins.

On the following day, all things being ready, both regulars and seculars repaired in great state to the shrine of St. Giles, to decorate and fetch the image to grace the solemn procession, but receiving information of the ignominious fate of their idol, they resolved that St. Giles should not lose the honour of a triumph; a small statue was therefore borrowed for the occasion from the Grey-friars, which the mob in derision designated the young St. Giles; the procession, attended by immense numbers of priests and monks with bands of music, paraded peaceably through the chief streets of Edinburgh; but the queen-regent having, towards the conclusion of the fete, withdrawn herself and suit, the mob dismounted young St. Giles from his elevated throne, tore him to pieces, and dispersed his attendants.

The proselytes to the reformed doctrines increasing, they distinguished themselves by the name of the *Congregation*, binding themselves to the mutual defence and support of each other, in propagating their religious tenets; and it appears to have been their leading principle, to exert themselves against those objects which had hitherto been set apart for the purpose of idolatrous worship: down with them, was the reformers watch-word; and the stately cathedral, the venerable church, and the splendid monastery, were all, in a short time, overthrown, by their infuriated zeal. The magistrates of Edinburgh, however, used every endeavour to check this devastating spirit, but without effect. Several of the religious houses in Perth having been destroyed about this period, the queen-regent addressed a letter to the magistrates of Edinburgh, therein requesting them to use all due diligence in preserving

the peace of the city, to which they paid becoming attention, which so pleased the queen-regent, that she addressed to them the following letter of thanks :

" Counsale of Edinburg, we greit zow weill,

" Forsamekle as we understand be ane writing of our cousing the Lord Seytonis zoure provest, the gude will and mynd ze beir to us, in assisting him at this trublous Tyme, in setting fordwart of oure service quhairof we thank zow heartlie ; praying zow to continew thair intill, as ze and ilk ane of zow sall fynd us willing for defence of zoure Liberties of zoure said Toun, or in ony uthir case as ze sall happin till have ado with us, as we find zow applicabill in setting fordwart of oure service at this tyme and sa fair ze weill.

" At Striviling the Twentie sixt May 1559.

" Maria R."

Upon the lords of the congregation approaching Edinburgh, about the year 1559, the council sent deputies to them entreating them to spare their churches and religious houses, that the protestant worship might be exercised in the former, and the latter be converted into reformed seminaries. They also ordered all the gates of the city to be shut, except those of the Netherbow and Westport, which were strongly guarded. And upon the queen regent's entering Edinburgh, it was agreed between her and the lords of the congregration, that each party should exercise, unmolested, their separate religions, till the tenth of the ensuing month of January. Dr. Robertson, in his history of this treaty, not having observed his usual accuracy, we shall state the passage as appears recorded both in Knox and Spottiswood, first giving Dr. Robertson's account ; he says, " on the other hand, the queen agreed to give no molestation to the preachers or professors of the protestant religion ; *to allow no other form of religion but the reformed*, and to permit the free and public exercise of it all over the

kingdom." By the accounts of Knox and Spottiswood we find, "Item, the town of Edinburgh shall, without compulsion, use and chuse what religion and manner thereof they please to the said day; so that every man may have freedom to use his own conscience to the day aforesaid. Item, the queen's grace shall not interpose her authority to molest or trouble the preachers of the congregation, nor their ministry, *(to them that please to use the same)*, to the said tenth day of January within written; and that every man in particular live in the mean time according to his own conscience."

The queen-regent having introduced some French troops into Leith, expelled several of the inhabitants in order to accommodate them, and began to fortify the town; the lords of the congregation considered her to have thereby infringed the late treaty, and requested her to desist from carrying on the fortifications; but upon finding their intreaties ineffectual, they marched to Edinburgh, where they assembled in the Tolbooth; and the opinions of Knox and Willox, their preachers, being obtained, concerning the obedience due to sovereigns tyrannically exerting their power; they issued an ordinance, with the unanimous concurrence of all present, dated 23rd October, 1559, to suspend the queen dowager from the regency, for mal-administration, by introducing foreign forces to enslave the nation, and other grievances therein mentioned. On the day following, they formally required the town of Leith to surrender; but no regard being paid to their summons, they attacked the fortifications, the town council of Edinburgh having furnished two thousand merks towards promoting and carrying into effect the enterprise.

The mode of attack proposed, was by escalade: for that purpose scaling ladders were prepared in St. Giles's church; which so irritated the ministers, that they foolishly prognosticated ill success to the enterprize; this so greatly intimidated the reformers, that on their arrival at Leith, the garrison sallying out, they fled, and were pursued without

making the least resistance, as far as the suburbs of the city. The queen's forces killed all they met with, not sparing either age or sex, and made themselves masters of all their ordnance and other military apparatus.

The alarm having spread to the city, numbers of the inhabitants rushed out to the assistance of the flying army; but on a false alarm being given, that the enemy were at their backs, to cut off their retreat to the town, they also fled in such haste, that the horse, in order to recover the gates, rode over those on foot, which encreased the confusion of the day.

The panic within the city was now so great, that it was with the greatest difficulty the fugitives were prevailed on to remain, in order, if possible, to preserve the city from becoming a prey to the enemy; their fears, however, increasing, and there being likewise a division in their councils, they left Edinburgh on the sixth day after their fatal miscarriage, leaving their unhappy protestant brethren and friends, the Edinburghers, to shift for themselves. The queen-regent returning to the city, conferred many of the best houses on the French soldiery, as a reward for their great services; while the unhappy proprietors were forced to conceal themselves for the security of their persons.

The lords of the congregation, with their forces, finding themselves in a place of safety, by a treaty with Elizabeth, called to their aid a body of English forces, in order to reduce the town of Leith; and the council of Edinburgh gave the sum of sixteen hundred pounds, scottish money, towards this desirable undertaking, being one month's pay for four hundred subsidiary troops; after various assaults and skirmishes, the French forces were compelled to surrender the fortifications of Leith, and to abandon the kingdom; and the lords of the privy council issued a precept to the magistrates of Edinburgh, in the the month of July, Anno Domini, 1560, to demolish these fortifications, that they might not afterwards

be a receptacle for harbouring the enemies and invaders of Scotland.

By the death of the queen-regent, and the expulsion of the French troops, the lords of the congregation were left masters of the kingdom. In the treaty between these lords, and the ambassadors from Francis and Mary, by which they had agreed that the French should evacuate Scotland, it was stipulated that a parliament should be held in the month of August following, and that the same should be deemed as lawful in all respects, as if it were ordained by the express commandment of their majesties. Pursuant to this article, a parliament was assembled at Edinburgh; all the members who favoured the doctrines of the reformation attended, as well as several prelates and lords who still adhered to the catholic religion. Objections were started as to the legality of the meeting, on account of no commissioner appearing to represent the sovereign; but they were over-ruled, and the parliament proceeded to abolish the papal jurisdiction, to rescind the acts made in favour of popery, to establish the confession of faith, and to impose the same penalties on the professors of the old religion, which had before been inflicted on themselves. Francis and Mary received the intelligence of these proceedings with that indignation which might naturally have been expected. Far from ratifying them, they spurned the messenger who carried the resolutions, which they deemed the convention to have adopted in contempt of their authority.

The council of Edinburgh also enacted, that the public markets of the city should no longer be held on Sunday, as was then the custom; and that no shops or taverns should be open or goods sold during divine service.

The first reformers appear to have entertained some whimsical ideas of analogy, between popery, or as they termed it idolatory, and fornication, both of which they regarded with the utmost abhorrence. To repress iniquities which they deemed so odious, the magistrates of Edinburgh assumed to

themselves both legislative and executive authority, and exerted in the most tyrannical manner, those powers which they had so illegally arrogated. They issued a proclamation, commanding all idolators, (i. e. papists), fornicators, and adulterers, to depart from the town; subjecting them to be defamed, by "setting them on the market-cross, there to remain for the space of six hours; and for the second offence, to be carried through the town in a cart, to be burnt on the cheek and banished; and for the third fault to be punished with death." In execution of this law, they ordered the deacon of the fleshers to be carted for adultery. The corporations resenting the indignity put upon their order, assembled in a tumultuous manner, broke open the gaol, and liberated the prisoner. The magistrates applied to the lords of the privy-council, for their assistance in punishing the rioters: and numbers of craftsmen were sent prisoners to the castle. But the deacons, upon professing their abhorrence of the late tumult, and making earnest and humble supplication, were acquitted of any concern in the riot, and obtained the release of their brethren.

Queen Mary by no means relished this association of persons in the proclamation, "papists and whoremongers." She had lately arrived in Scotland (A. D. 1561), and the manner of her reception tended not to alleviate the grief she felt on leaving France; the state of Scotland was unsuitable to the elegance of her taste, and the splendour of the court which she had recently left. If the manners of the people were deficient in elegance, they were now more so in complaisance. They even objected to their sovereign's enjoying that tolerance in religious matters to which the meanest subject is entitled. On the Sunday after her arrival, the mob raised a tumult at the palace, and it was with difficulty they were restrained from interrupting divine service, nay, even from hanging the priest who officiated: and the magistrates of Edinburgh most illiberally renewed their edict for banishing idolators and whoremongers from the city, within forty-eight hours from the date

of the proclamation. The queen addressed a letter to the town council, complaining of an edict so disgraceful and injurious to those of her religion; this letter produced an effect very different from what she intended; the council again renewed the proclamation, with the additional severity of commanding, under very severe penalties, those persons to depart from the town within twenty-four hours; but the council was equally pusillanimous and insolent; for when the queen, who was highly enraged at the contemptuous behaviour of the magistrates, sent an order to the council to deprive them of their offices, and elect others in their place, they very submissively obeyed her commands. The queen at the same time issued a proclamation, granting liberty to all good and faithful subjects to repair to or remain in Edinburgh at their pleasure, which gave occasion to Knox to make this pleasant observation: "and so murderers, adulterers, thieves, whores, drunkards, idolaters, and all malefactors, get protection under the queen's wings, under colour that they were of her religion, and so got the devil freedom again; whereas before, he durst not have been seen in daylight upon the common streets."

A. D. 1562. To repress popery and fornication, a variety of new punishments, in addition to those mentioned, were invented. The iron rod, already stretched forth to crush carnal impurities, was twisted into new shapes, and loaded with additional weight to give it a smarter sting; to ducking in filthy and stagnant pools and bogs, was added confinement for a month to a diet of bread and water in the most dismal cells of a dungeon in the Tron house; yet, with all their detestation of uncleanness they seem not to have been ignorant of the maxim, "that all things are lawful to the saints;" for it stands on record, that the earl of Arran enjoyed his mistress peaceably; but when the marquis d'Elbeuf and the earl of Bothwell, in a drunken frolic, paid her a visit, addresses were presented to the queen, and tumults in the streets were headed by the protestant lords to repress the

horrid impiety: and further to shew their abhorrence to popery, the figure of St. Giles was cut out from the city standard, and a thistle substituted in its place.

It appears that the town-council were guilty of the grossest absurdities in their acts for the suppression of vice; for they now decreed, that unless burgesses daughters were at their marriage *reputed pure virgins*, their husbands should not enjoy the freedom of the city, to which, in virtue of such marriage, they would otherwise have been entitled; and most of the punishments enacted by the council against fornication, popery, &c. received, by gradual steps, the sanction of the legislature. The sovereign, indeed, endeavoured to stop the execution of most of these ridiculous, and, in some cases, sanguinary penalties: yet we find, that the archbishop of St. Andrew's was imprisoned in Edinburgh castle, for saying and hearing mass; that a popish priest, a man of title and family, arrayed in his sacerdotal robes, was placed two days in the pillory, at the cross of Edinburgh, and pelted with such severity by the mob, as to endanger his life; that several priests of the catholic church were punished by exile, and otherwise; and one absolutely hung, for daring to profess the tenets of the papal church.

Scotland being freed from the shackles of papal usurpation, was well nigh subjected to a more formidable tyranny under the presbyterians; she preserved her independence and freedom but with difficulty; and to this struggle, between the civil and ecclesiastical states, most of the troubles which distracted the nation for nearly one hundred years, may be attributed. If the pope claimed in religious matters a supremacy over temporal sovereigns, the presbyterian declared his absolute independence, prudently choosing a head placed at a convenient distance. If during the most arbitrary sway of the papal hierarchy, it was held impious to summon a churchman before a lay tribunal, the reformed presbyterian maintained, that in point of doctrine, he was liable only to the

cognizance of a spiritual court; and even if treason was uttered from the pulpit, the party offending ought, in the first place, to be tried by the presbytery; and that neither king nor council could decide upon it in the first instance.

A. D. 1582. William earl of Gowry, in conjunction with other lords, having seized the king at his house at Ruthven, the pulpit resounded with applauses for the holy deed; an act of assembly was passed, declaring the conspirators "to have done good and acceptable service to God, their sovereign, and the country, and threatening with ecclesiastical censures, those who by word or deed should oppose the good cause.

CHAPTER II.

From the Captivity of James, to his Accession to the English Throne.

The lords soon afterwards brought the king to Edinburgh. The solemnity of his reception was characteristic of the manners of the times; he was met by the reformed ministers of the city, and the whole procession passed in solemn order through the streets. The captivity of James soon spread over all Europe, and Henry III. of France dispatched an ambassador to Edinburgh, with instructions to exert his utmost endeavours to restore the king to his freedom and independence. When the ministers of the city understood the purpose of the embassy, they declaimed against the messenger, and the errand he came on, with equal scurrility; one of the ambassadors, La Motte, a knight of the Holy Ghost, displayed on his shoulder a white cross, the emblem of his order; this the ministers denominated "the badge of Anti-Christ," and himself, "the ambassador of the bloody murderer," (meaning the duke of Guise); the railings of the clergy, and the insults of the populace, so disgusted La Motte, and La Meneville, his companion in the embassy, that they solicited, and earnestly urged their dismissal.

The king, vexed at this contemptuous treatment, and willing to show respect to the ambassadors, desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to entertain them; a day being fixed for the banquet, they were publicly invited; the reformed ministers highly provoked at this presumed mark of respect, resolved to use their endeavours to disappoint it. Accordingly, on the Sunday preceding, they ordained a fast to be observed, on the very day the magistrates had chosen for the entertainment; and in order to detain the people in the church, three

of their most popular preachers successively mounted the pulpit, and thence thundered curses on the ambassadors, and all who dared to entertain them; ecclesiastical censures were likewise denounced against the magistrates for contemning the orders of the church.

The ministers of Edinburgh, having from the beginning justified the *raid* of Ruthven (so the king's confinement by Gowry was called), one of them being summoned before the privy-council, refused to acknowledge himself to have been guilty of any offence; also, one of the ministers of St. Andrew's, being cited on the same account, declined the jurisdiction of the king and council, and exclaimed in his wrath, that "the king perverted the laws both of God and man." A parliament being held at Edinburgh, the authority of the king, and of the estates of parliament, in all cases, and over every order, spiritual and temporal, was confirmed. These statutes, however, were not enacted without great opposition from the reformed clergy: in consequence thereof, they deputed one of their number to wait upon the king, and entreat, that no act concerning the church should be passed, until they were heard; this boldness was recompensed by the earl of Arran, then the provost of the city, who immediately committed him unheard, a prisoner to the castle of Blackness, upon which the ministers of Edinburgh, dreading the same fate, precipitately left the city, and fled to England. One of them more daring than the rest, previous to his flight, repaired to the cross; where while the heralds, according to the custom, were promulgating the statutes, he solemnly took instruments in the hands of a notary, declaring the church's dissent from these acts, and protesting that no obedience was due to them: and the absent ministers addressed a letter to the kirk-session and town-council, reviling the measures of the court in the most opprobrious terms, and declaring "the acts made in the late parliament, repugnant to the word of God *and doctrine oftentimes preached by them.*" The kirk-session and town-council, by the king's command,

returned an answer, expressing their detestation of the treasonable doctrines contained in their letter, and rejecting as pastors those who had deserted their flocks.

A. D. 1585. The exiled ministers returned; but the chastisement they had experienced for their recent behaviour had not, as yet, taught them discretion: they still insisted that the late acts, which established the king's authority in spiritual matters, and prohibited the clergy from meddling in state affairs, and from railing and slandering in the pulpit against the king, should be repealed. Among the reproaches which they used against the monarch for his refusal to abrogate these laws, one of them from his pulpit in Edinburgh observed, "That captain James (the name by which they designated the earl of Arran), with his lady Jesebel, and William Stewart, were taken to be the persecutors of the church; but that now it was seen to be the king himself; against whom he denounced the curse that fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race."

Such was the virulence of hatred or height of contempt which they entertained for their sovereign, that when he commanded them to pray for his mother, whom the rigorous policy of Elizabeth had condemned to death, but one clergyman at Leith, with the king's own chaplain, complied therewith. The king, although much dissatisfied at this proceeding, was willing to allow the ministers at Edinburgh, particularly, an opportunity of amending their fault, and appointed another day when prayers should be said for his mother; and in order to prevent the cavilling of the ecclesiastics, he had scrupulously chosen the form of prayer to be used on the occasion; it contained no other petition than charity would prefer for the worst of enemies: "That it might please God to illuminate Mary with the light of his truth, and save her from the apparent danger with which she was threatened." The king, fearing he might be exposed to the insult of a refusal in his

own presence, commanded the bishop of St. Andrew's to preach before him on that day, being on the 3d of February. On the king's arrival at the church, he found the pulpit occupied by a young man of the name of John Cowper, who had not at that time even received holy orders, but whom the ministers of Edinburgh had instigated to mount the pulpit in order to preclude the prelate's officiating. The king, feeling his power and dignity thus insulted, called to Cowper from his seat, and observed to him, "That the place he occupied was destined for another; yet if he would obey the charge given by remembering his mother in prayer, he might proceed to divine service." Cowper replied, that, "he would do as the spirit of God should direct him;" this reply sufficiently indicated his purpose. He was commanded to leave the pulpit; and, as he seemed unwilling to obey, the captain of the guard was directed to remove him from the situation, upon which he exclaimed, "That this day would be a witness against the king in the great day of the Lord;" and further, as he was slowly descending from the pulpit, he denounced a woe upon the inhabitants of Edinburgh for suffering him to be so ignominiously treated.

The benefices of Edinburgh, although of small stipends, were the best livings in the gift of the church; the four ministers thereof, in 1588, receiving only, the first 600 merks, the second 500, the third 380, and the fourth 60; yet small as the income appears, the most eminent and popular preachers of the time were appointed to the pastoral charge of Edinburgh; unlike the first propagators of christianity, their poverty exposed them to no contempt, and they indulged the most refined species of pride, in an austerity, which appeared to set at naught the opulence and splendour of the papal church. They condemned the luxuries of life as criminal, rejected its comforts as contemptible; and abhorring the external ceremonies of religious pomp and worship, they acquired a reputation for sanctity, which enabled them to exercise among the people an influence and

power, which was carefully directed towards the attainment of their own ends.

A. D. 1592. Fresh causes of controversy between the king and the church were now daily arising. James had been induced, although contrary to his own inclination, to establish the presbyterian form of church government, and to introduce a salvo in explanation of the act of 1584, establishing the authority of the king in spiritual matters, and prohibiting the clergy from taking any part in state affairs. By this salvo the privileges warranted by the word of God were reserved to the clergy. Such able casuists were not at any loss in explaining, as they pleased, so vague a reservation; still, however, the church was not satisfied, and both parties either felt, or affected to feel, mutual fears and jealousies. The popish lords now formed a conspiracy to establish again the catholic religion; and in order to carry their intention into execution, they resolved to assist the Spanish forces in the invasion of England; this transaction soon coming to the knowledge of the ecclesiastics, James was urged by them with furious zeal to prosecute the conspirators, as they were then deemed; but the easy temper of the king would not permit it. This lenity excited great discontent, and became, as usual, the subject of violent declamation from the pulpit.—They now turned their attention towards Bothwell, as he was not known to belong to the popish faction, and encouraged him in his treasonable attempts upon the king; even the money which had been collected for the relief of the distressed protestants in Geneva, was applied by the ministers to raise men for his assistance.

In our brief history it would be too tedious and trifling to relate the many disputes between the king and the church respecting the pardon granted to the popish lords. They evinced the low ebb to which royal authority was reduced: this will be best explained in the words of the king, which he addressed to the committee of the clergy upon grievances. "There could

be no agreement so long as the marches of the two jurisdictions were not distinguished."

The clergy upon the pardon and return of the popish lords, immediately sounded the tocsin of alarm over all the kingdom, and called a convocation of the most eminent of their number to Edinburgh, where they were ordered to reside, and watch over the church, under the name of the *standing council of the church*, and were vested with its *supreme authority*; when the violent declamations of Black, a minister of St. Andrew's, brought the rupture between the king and the church to a crisis, which had nearly accomplished the destruction of the metropolis, or of the sovereign.

Among other violent harangues from the pulpit, Black affirmed, that the king had permitted the return of the popish lords, and thereby detected the treachery of his own heart: that all kings were the devil's children: that satan had the guidance of the court: that queen Elizabeth was an atheist: that the lords of session were a set of miscreants and bribers: and that the nobility were enemies to the church, false, godless, and degenerate. Being summoned before the privy council, to answer for his treasonable discourses, the clergy opposed the shield of spiritual jurisdiction, to protect him from the royal vengeance; and Black himself openly disavowed the authority of the privy council; the *standing council of the church*, which still continued at Edinburgh, sent a solemn instrument disavowing the council's authority, to all the presbyteries in Scotland for their signatures, and recommended to all the ministers of the reformed church, both in their public and private devotions, to commit the *good cause* to God; and to employ their credit, and exert their labours, among their respective flocks, towards its maintenance and support.

The king, incensed at these proceedings, tending so directly to lessen his supreme authority, issued a proclamation, requiring the commissioners of the church to depart from Edinburgh, within twenty-four hours; upon this they assembled

and resolved, "that since they were convened by the warrant of Christ, they should obey God rather than man," and continue together, notwithstanding any charge that might be given them. The articles of accusation made against the minister Black being fully proved, the king did not proceed to pass judgment, being desirous that the commissioners of the church should of themselves pronounce some slight censure, or inflict some trifling punishment on him with which the king declared he would be contented. In reply to this temporizing lenity, the commissioners observed, "that a punishment could not be inflicted where no cognition had preceded; for, as to the trial taken, neither was it done by the proper judges, nor was that equity observed which ought to have been; witnesses that were under the censures of the church, and ill affected to Mr. Black, having been admitted to depone against him." In vain did his majesty seek to remove all objections to the trial; every thing which candour and impartiality could devise was offered by the king, and rejected by the reformed clergy, who imagined themselves to be the injured party; and declared, that since they saw "the faithful pastors of the church reviled and pursued, they could not abstain from opposing these proceedings with the spiritual armours given them by God." They accordingly ordained a fast to be kept the Sunday following, with solemn prayers to God to avert the impending judgments.

The king, in defence of himself and his measures, was now obliged to publish a declaration to his people, exculpating himself from the calumnies of the ministers, and again ordered the commissioners of the church together, with twenty-four of the burgesses who had become odious and suspected by the court, on account of their attachment to the ministers, to depart from Edinburgh within the space of six hours. Fears and jealousies were kept alive by rumours, which, whatever might have been their foundation, added fuel to the flame of discord, then too prevalent, and tended to widen the breach

between the king and his subjects. It was artfully propagated that strong guards had been appointed, in order to defend the ministers against the violence which was dreaded from the king and his adherents; this was deemed by James as a contrivance of the ministers to bring an odium on, and incense the people against him. It was again rumoured, that the king's measures were directed by the popish lords, who had been secretly admitted into his presence. Further, the apprehensions of the ministers were heightened by designing men, who addressed an anonymous letter to Robert Bruce, one of their body, cautioning them to look to themselves; for Huntly (their great enemy), who was late with the king the night preceding, had advised the above-named charge of appointing guards over their houses and persons. Persuaded of the truth of this intelligence and sincerity of the advice therein contained, the letter was communicated to Walter Balcanquell, whose turn it was to preach on that day; he believing it to be genuine, acquainted the people of the great danger they were in, and gave them a long detail of the treacherous forms (as he called them), of the court against them; and in the most opprobrious terms, bitterly inveighed against the president, comptroller, and advocate, as the chief instruments of their sufferings and danger; then addressing himself to the nobility present, reminded them of the sincere attachment and great zeal shown by their predecessors, in planting the true religion of Christ, and giving it their most zealous support; at the same time exhorting them to shew the like courage and constancy in its defence. Having finished his discourse, he earnestly intreated the nobility and gentry to meet him and his brother ministers after sermon, in the little Tolbooth Church, and assist them with their advice in their present critical situation.

The request of the preacher was immediately attended to; and besides the lords and gentlemen who had met on this occasion, a vast number of citizens also repaired to the meeting,

to whom Robert Bruce, one of the ministers, declared the great danger the church was in by the return of the popish lords, which, he said, had been also represented to the king; but, instead of redress, one of their brethren was questioned concerning his preaching; and now the best of their people were charged to leave the town, whereby they had reason to suspect worse practices to follow. He, therefore, solemnly entreated them to intercede with the king, that they might be permitted to serve God without any molestation.

Pursuant to this, a petition was drawn up for the purpose of being presented to the king as early as possible, signed by all present, and six persons were nominated for that purpose, viz. two noblemen, two gentlemen, and two ministers. On the day the petition was to be presented, the king came to the court of session, then sitting in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; where, being in an upper apartment, the six persons with the petition were admitted to an audience: when Bruce, the minister, acquainted him, "that they were sent by the noblemen and barons, convened in the little church, to bemoan the danger threatened to religion. The king answered, "what dangers see you?"—Bruce replied, "Our best affected people that tender religion, are discharged the town; the lady Huntly, a professed papist, is maintained at court, and it is suspected that her husband is not far off." The king made no answer to this speech, but asked hastily, who they were that dared to convene against his proclamation? lord Lindsday, one of the deputed lords, in a vehement manner, replied, "that they dared do more than that, and would not suffer religion to be overturned." Numbers of people rudely crowding into the room at this juncture, the king became alarmed, and without making any reply, withdrew to the lower room, where the judges were assembled, ordering the doors to be shut behind him. The deputed persons being returned to the church, declared to the assembly that they were not heard, neither was

there a hope of receiving a favourable answer, as long as such councellors remained about the king; therefore, some other course must speedily be adopted. Lord Lindsay immediately answered, "no course but one; let us stay together that are here, and promise to take one part, and advertise our friends and the favourers of religion to come to us; for it shall now be either theirs or ours." This speech of Lindsays occasioned a great clamour and noise, and the tumult increasing, some cried to arms; others, bring out Haman, in allusion to a discourse of a minister who had entertained the populace with the story of Haman, &c. while they were waiting the return of the deputies; others cried out, "the sword of the Lord and Gideon," and so great was the fury of the multitude, that had they not been restrained by that worthy citizen, John Watts, the deacon convener (who, forseeing the consequences, had assembled the crafts, or city incorporations), they would undoubtedly have forced the door, and probably destroyed the king and all that were with him.

Sir Alexander Hume, the provost, though much indisposed and in bed, on hearing of the insurrection, hastened to the Tolbooth, and prevailed on the infuriated multitude to lay down their arms, and return to their respective habitations, and soothed them by the promises of the king to receive their petitions when presented in a regular manner. The clergy became alarmed at the greatness of the tumult, and also used their endeavours in order to pacify them; which, after some trouble, by the efforts of the provost, deacon, and themselves, they accomplished, and the king returned without molestation to his palace.

The nobility, barons, and ministers, again assembled in the course of the afternoon, when the terms of the petition were adjusted after a short deliberation; and lord Forbes, the laird of Bargeny, and Robert Pollock, were appointed to present it to their sovereign. The king understanding that the committee was at the gates of the palace, sent lord Ochiltree to

tamper with the laird of Bargeny not to present the petition; and having prevailed with him, the rest of the committee also declined to present it, their principal having failed to concur with them.

Early on the next morning, the king and privy council departed from the city to the palace of Linlithgow, and on the the same day, a proclamation was published at Edinburgh, setting forth, that on account of the late treasonable uproar, in which a number of citizens, instigated by the ministers, had taken arms to deprive the king and council of their lives, his majesty deemed Edinburgh an unfit seat of residence for the court, or for the adminstration of justice: he, therefore, required the college of justice, the inferior judges, and the nobility and barons, to retire from Edinburgh, and prohibited them from returning without his express licence.

This proclamation, together with the court's sudden departure from Edinburgh, filled the citizens with dismay, and they soon became fully sensible of the folly into which they had inadvertently been led, by some of the most violent of the ministers. In this dangerous situation of affairs, the common council, in the utmost distraction, not knowing how to act, at last judged it the safest way quietly to wait the king's resolution in respect to the city; but the ministers resolved, that the contest should be maintained, and that the nobility and barons should not be dispersed by the royal proclamation; but that others should be called upon to assemble in the city in aid of the *good cause*. The citizens, however, when called upon for the purpose of forming this grand association, excused themselves from entering further into rebellion against their sovereign: by which resolution, they greatly retarded the intended association of the ministers, &c.

The clergy, in order to preserve the minds of the people in a proper tone, ordained a fast on the occasion, and sermons of preparation were ordered to be preached that same afternoon. In the mean time, a letter was dispatched by the mi-

nisters of Edinburgh, to lord Hamilton and the laird of Balcleuch, requesting their assistance; this letter was written by Robert Bruce, one of the ministers, and signed by him and his colleagues; a short extract from this singular production, will disclose the temper and disposition of the reformed clergy at this time. Amongst other things they observed, "That the people, animated by the word and motion of God's spirit, had gone to arms; and that the godly barons, and other gentlemen that were in the town, had convened themsleves, and taken on them the patronage of the church and her cause; only they lacked a head and special nobleman to countenance the matter. And since, with one consent, they had made choice of his lordship, their desire was, that he should come to Edinburgh with all diligence, and utter his affection to the good cause, by accepting the honour which was offered him."

His lordship, instead of joining the treasonable convention at Edinburgh, took a copy of the letter, and returning the original, repaired to Linlithgow with all speed, and showed it to the king, who was greatly incensed by this additional insult. James immediately proceeded to take measures in order to prevent this intended association, and dispatched a messenger to Edinburgh, commanding the magistrates to apprehend and commit the ministers, Robert Bruce, Walter Bolcanquell, James Balfour, William Watson, and others therein specified to prison; but they having received timely notice of the king's intention, hastily left Edinburgh, and escaped into England.

The common-council, in the greatest distress on this melancholy occasion, sent a deputation to the king, and in hopes of mitigating his resentment, and bringing him back again to his palace at Holyrood House, they offered to submit themselves to his majesty in all things as he should please to enjoin them, "and to repair all in their power the great indignity and dishonour done him, providing they should not be deemed guilty of the crime;" but James admitting of no justification, an-

swered, "that fair and humble words could not excuse such a fault, and that he should come, ere long, and let them know he was their king."

This threw the magistrates, with the inhabitants, into the greatest alarm and confusion; but when they received the news of the privy council's having declared the late tumult to be high treason, and the devisers, executors, and partakers to be traitors; and also, all such that should thereafter be aiding or assisting the persons concerned therein, the whole city was thrown into the utmost despair, and nothing less was expected, than the total destruction of Edinburgh. All the judicatories having removed to the town of Leith, and the court of session to Perth, the ministers having fled, and the magistrates being without authority, the citizens considered their case altogether hopeless.

In this great dilemma, the common council determined on making another effort to regain the favour of James; and calling to their aid John Preston, a senator of the college of justice, with John Sharp and William Oliphant, advocates, and others, who they deemed were greatly in favour with the king, they deputed them to intercede on behalf of the city; these having generously accepted of the mediatorial office, repaired immediately to Linlithgow, where in an audience, "they humbly besought his majesty not to proceed to extremities, but to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty." To this the king replied, "that he could not think the town to be free from blame; for if some of the principal (citizens) had not countenanced the multitude in their doings, the tumult could not have been so great: however, the magistrates negligence was not to be excused, inasmuch as they did not prevent the disorder. His resolution was always to proceed by the form of law, and not to use any violent course; but he had appointed the estates to meet in the same place where he had been dishonoured, and he would follow their advice, both in the trial and punishment."

Accordingly, the king arrived at Leith on the 31st of December, and made a solemn entry into Edinburgh on the following day, when the keys of the city were delivered to one of his officers, and the care and charge of it was committed to the earl of Marr, with the lords Seaton and Ochiltree, all the citizens being strictly enjoined to keep within their houses; the streets were lined with a double file of soldiers, between whom the king and his train rode to the Tolbooth. The parliament was already assembled, before whom, the magistrates now attended, and were ordered to declare what they had to say in defence of the town; having prostrated themselves before the king, the provost, Alexander Hume, after a short speech, delivered to the court a written paper, wherein they utterly disclaimed all fore-knowledge of the tumult; declared their resolution to continue in the most diligent search for discovering its authors, that they might be brought to condign punishment; professed the most loyal attachment to the king; made offers, that none of the seditious ministers should be allowed to return to their charges, or others be admitted to the pastoral office within the city, but with his majesty's approbation; and that in the election of their magistrates, they should present to his majesty, and his lords of council and session leets, of the persons they meant to choose, that his majesty and their lordships might approve or reject at pleasure. The earnest supplications of the magistrates, and the warm intercessions of some nobles in behalf of the city, were urged in vain; the convention of the estates declared the late tumult to be high treason, and that the city itself should be subjected to all the penalties of that crime, if the magistrates did not discover the authors, and inflict on them exemplary punishment: nay, it was even proposed, that the city should be rased to the foundation, and a pillar erected on the place, as a lasting monument of its treasons.

As James's severity against Edinburgh appeared to have been dictated rather by policy than inclination, the interposition

of Elizabeth in favour of the city afforded a favourable pretext for abating his rigour; still, however, it was resolved to prosecute the city criminally, and for that purpose the town council, as its representatives, were ordered to enter themselves in ward in the town of Perth, by the first of February—there to remain in custody until either acquitted or cast by law. Upon their petition, however, the term for their appearance was prorogued to the first of March; but before this period had arrived, James had so far relented, that only thirteen instead of the whole of the town council were required to appear; namely, two bailiffs, the dean of Guild, treasurer, four of the principal deacons, four of the councillors, and one of the town clerks, who being called on the fifth day of the said month, produced a commission under the town seal, signed by the town clerks; upon the reading of which, they were asked if all named in the commission were present? being answered they were, exclusive of William Maul, who had received his majesty's letter of dispensation; but this appearing to be dated on the 11th January, a time preceding the answer to their petition, wherein it was expressly ordained that the said thirteen citizens should appear, it was declared void and of no effect; and it was decided, that for not complying with the said ordinance, one of the thirteen being absent, the town was denounced, the inhabitants declared rebels, and the city revenues sequestered to the king's use. For fifteen days the city remained in a state of anarchy and confusion; but at the intercession of many of the nobility, and upon the supplication of the magistrates and town council, and their offer to submit themselves entirely to the king's mercy, he restored the community to their forfeiture, exacting however the following conditions, besides those already offered: that the houses which had been possessed by the ministers should be delivered up to the king, and the ministers afterwards live dispersed through the different quarters of the city, each in his respective parish; that the town council house should be appointed for accommo-

dating the court of exchequer; that the town should become bound for the safety of the lords of session in their persons and estates, against any attempts of the burgesses, under a penalty of forty thousand marks; and, finally, that the town should pay a fine of twenty thousand marks to his majesty in four separate monthly payments, beginning on the first day of April following.

The city having thus happily settled all disputes with their sovereign, the king granted them an acquittance and discharge; and not long after, it appears that his majesty's resentment against the clergy began to abate, and he permitted the degraded ministers of Edinburgh to return, and resume their former pastoral offices.

CHAPTER III.

From the Accession of James VI. to the Throne of England to the Restoration of Charles II.

FROM James's accession to the throne of England, Edinburgh remained for a period of thirty-five years in a quiet state, unchequered by any memorable event relative to church affairs. But this state of tranquillity gave place to very different scenes; for it was the fortune of Edinburgh to give birth to those proceedings, which ended in the destruction of the king and overthrow of the constitution.

The disputes which sprang up in this island upon the introduction of a new set of religious doctrines, were speedily checked in England by the rough hand of Henry, whose singular felicity it was to alter the church, without overturning the state. In Scotland it was far otherwise; for there with the doctrine of the reformation, republican principles were almost universally adopted; and a perpetual struggle between episcopacy and presbytery was maintained almost until the Union. The furious zeal of the presbyterian clergy had given James many advantages over them; and, as he possessed some sagacity, he failed not to make use of them to the accomplishment of his favourite object; the bishops and abbots were still allowed to retain their seats in the great council of the nation; and in the noon-tide of royal power, he had even established his supremacy over the church. After much in-

triguing, and anxious attention to the critical moment of advantage, he introduced those important points, "kneeling at the sacrament, administration of private communion, and of private baptism, confirmation, and the observing of Christmas and Easter holidays;" what remained towards the complete establishment of episcopacy, but an introduction of the liturgy? This James had often meditated; but it was left to his less prudent successor to make the attempt.

Charles I. being resolved to accomplish what James had not been able to fulfil (the introduction of the liturgy into the church of Scotland), ordered a liturgy, or service book, and one of the canons to be prepared for the use of the Scottish church, which being done, Charles, without further ceremony, issued a proclamation for the due observance of them throughout Scotland; this impolitic act being done without the privity of the secret council or general approbation of the clergy, they were regarded as foreign impositions devised by archbishop Laud, and forced upon the nation by the sole authority of the king, which occasioned great murmurings and many commotions amongst the people.

This new service book however was ordered to be read for the first time on Easter-day at Edinburgh; but the people, not being prepared for its reception, the time was prolonged to the twenty-third of July, A. D. 1637, being the day appointed for its first reading in Saint Giles's church; in the morning of that day, the usual prayers were read by Patrick Henderson, the common reader; which were no sooner ended, than Henderson thus addressed the auditors, by way of farewell, "Adieu, good people; for I think this is the last time of my reading prayers in this place;" which address occasioned a great murmuring in the congregation. The time being arrived for the forenoon service to commence, there were assembled on this extraordinary occasion, the lord chancellor, lords of the privy council, lords of session, bishops, magistrates of Edinburgh, and a vast

multitude of people of all sorts. Among this multitude not a murmur was heard, until Mr. James Hannay, dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, opened his service book; instantly a tumult arose, accompanied by clapping of hands, execrations, and violent exclamations—*Out* (cried an old woman); *out, thou false thief, dost thou say the mass at my lugg?* The noise and confusion was now so great that it was impossible to proceed. Dr. Lindsay, bishop of Edinburgh, in hopes to appease the tumult, ascended the pulpit, and reminded the people of the sanctity of the place; but this instead of calming, appeared to enrage them to act with a greater degree of violence; and a furious woman threw a stool with such force at the bishop's head, that had it not been averted by a friendly hand, would probably have silenced the bishop for ever. The archbishop of St. Andrews, with the lord chancellor, in vain attempted to quell the uproar at this time both within and without the church; stones were thrown in at the windows, with violent rapping against the doors with sticks and other missile weapons, which, added to the general confusion. The magistrates of Edinburgh descending from their seats, by flattery, menaces, and force, succeeded in clearing the church of the most unruly of the people. The audience being afterwards dismissed, the bishop was attacked by the rabble, and had well nigh fallen a sacrifice to the popular fury, but was rescued by a superior force. In the adjoining church the liturgy was received with less uproar, but not without obvious marks of disapprobation: in the church of the Grey-friars the uproar was so great that the service was given up altogether; but the minister of the college church being more wary than his brethren, would not commence the service until he learned the reception the liturgy met with in the other churches, when he wisely preferred the old extempore form, notwithstanding his engagement to the contrary.

Between the morning and the afternoon service a meeting of the privy council was held, at which the lord provost and

magistrates assisted; and as they engaged to exert their utmost endeavours to maintain decorum, the use of the liturgy was again attempted in the afternoon, and it was read in some of the churches without much disturbance; still, however, an unruly multitude rambled though the streets, and pelted with stones the bishop of Edinburgh, and the lord privy seal, who was in the coach with him, and though driven at full gallop, his lordship's servants were obliged to repel the fury of the assailants with their drawn swords. This memorable day was afterwards distinguished in Edinburgh by the appellation of *Stoney Sunday.*

Next morning a meeting of the privy council was held, at which the magistrates of Edinburgh attended, and expressed their detestation of the late uproar, and their desire to seize the ringleaders and bring them to punishment. To encourage the ministers to read the liturgy, they voluntarily engaged, as far as possible, to indemnify the clergy, if in the execution of their duty they should suffer any harm from the outrage of the populace. They also addressed two submissive letters to archbishop Laud, expressing their contrition for the tumult, and their alacrity to concur in any measure for establishing the service book.

No future day being immediately appointed for the reading of the liturgy, and the summer session being ended, together with the approach of harvest, it became requisite for the generality of the people to superintend their country affairs, in consequence thereof no disturbance happened for some time, and the late tumult was supposed to have entirely subsided. But two of the ministers of Edinburgh, who had been suspended for not reading the service book on the 23d July, began to practise upon the people. Loud murmurs against the liturgy were echoed throughout the city, and when they reflected that the late opposition had arisen from the very dregs of the populace, the story of Balaam's ass occurring to their imagination, made them admire the finger of the Lord, as

opening the mouths of the simple to testify against such gross superstition. A petition from the magistrates and inhabitants, as well as from the suspended ministers, was presented to the privy council, praying that the use of the liturgy might not be insisted on. And the harvest being now mostly over, a great concourse of all ranks flocked into Edinburgh, and manifested such a spirit of sedition, that there was reason to apprehend an immediate insurrection.

As the privy council had been summoned in order to treat of ecclesiastic affairs, to appease the people, a royal proclamation was issued, discharging the privy council, at that time, from proceeding on the affairs of the church; and the multitude were required to disperse and repair peaceably to their own dwellings. This part of the proclamation however was of little avail. On the following day, the bishop of Galloway being on his way to the council, he was assailed by the populace with hooting and execrations; they opposed him in his passage to the chamber where the council was sitting, and after much difficulty, having got to the chamber, instead of finding a secure asylum, he was besieged by a lawless rabble. The lords of the privy council in this dilemma sent to the magistrates for support, who themselves stood as much in need of assistance, and were unable to succour them; for the disorderly mob not only beset the privy counsellors, and patrolled the streets in great numbers, but they had also surrounded the town council chamber where the magistrates were sitting in deliberation, and became so audacious, that they even thronged into the assembly and vowed its immediate destruction, unless a petition was instantly subscribed against the service book.

The earl of Traquair, lord treasurer, and lord Wigton, thinking the condition of the magistrates more desperate than their own, resolved to venture out and try whether the lord treasurer could not by his authority and persuasion prevail on the people to disperse and go home; if not, then to proceed to the assistance of the magistrates, and hold council with them

on the present juncture of affairs; but the rabble assailed them with such wild outcries as predicted more forcible outrage: on all quarters there were resounded—"*God defend those who will defend God's cause; and God confound the service book and all its maintainers.*" Instantly the mob assaulted the treasurer, pulled off his hat and cloak, broke in pieces the white rod which he bore as the badge of his office, threw him down in the street, and had he not instantly been raised by his attendants, who conveyed him back to the privy council, he would undoubtedly have been trodden to death. As for the magistrates, as well as the lords of the privy council, they remained besieged in their separate chambers, until by the interposition of some popular lords they were rescued from the fury of the mob.

The tumult being something appeased in the afternoon, a proclamation was issued, discharging all public convocations and also private meetings tending to sedition; but it met with so little respect, that public deputies from the people the next morning presented two petitions, one in the name of the men, women, children, and servants, inhabitants of Edinburgh, against the service book; another in behalf of the nobility, gentry, ministers, and burgesses against both the service book and the book of canons. * In order to repress these tumultuous proceedings, Charles again had recourse to the feeble authority of a proclamation; but his orders, which hitherto were treated with heedless contempt, now met with direct disobedience. He experienced, for the first time, an act of deliberate rebellion, and that by persons of high rank: for when he published a proclamation at Stirling, pardoning past offences, and enjoining peaceable behaviour, it was encountered by the earl of Hume, lord Lindsay, and great numbers of inferior rank, by a public protestation, in which, after setting forth their grievances, they protested that they should not be liable to any penalties or forfeitures for disobeying any orders or proclamations in favour of the liturgy, or the book of canons,

and that they should not be answerable for any consequences which might happen, upon enforcing these innovations. Whenever the king's proclamation was published, it was met by this counter-protest, and a regular combination was formed to oppose the established government; the great multitude of people who had assembled at Edinburgh, disposed themselves into different classes, according to their rank in life; these classes were denominated tables, and from each of these respective tables commissioners were elected, who composed a general table, which revised the deliberations of the inferior ones, and issued orders that every where met with implicit obedience.

Among other weighty matters which the tables deliberated upon, they resolved to frame a solemn league and covenant, which covenant consisted of a renunciation of popery, expressed in all that virulence of invective, which was calculated to inflame the minds of the people, who did not, probably, understand the nature of what they were renouncing, yet could comprehend the infamy of the epithets applied to the object renounced. This was followed by a bond, obliging the subscribers to resist all religious innovations, and to defend each other against every opposition whatever, and all this for the glory of God, and the advantage of their king and country; the whole concluding with invoking the most tremendous imprecations upon such as should desert the covenant. The people being assembled in the Grey Friar's Churchyard, the covenant was solemnly read aloud; all ranks and conditions, all ages and sects, flocked to subscribe it. Charles, not a little alarmed at a combination so general and so violent, appointed the marquiss of Hamilton his high commissioner, with ample powers to treat with the covenanters; but no sooner did the leaders of the covenant hear of the king's peaceable intentions, than they exerted their ingenuity to prevent an accommodation. The pulpits rung with the insidiousness of Charles's designs. It was recommended to the people to avoid treaties as snares

laid for their destruction: all the terrors were held out to them of incurring the guilt of perjury, if they should abate one iota of their covenanted engagements. And lest the pulpit should not convey these exhortations fast enough, inflammatory resolutions, to the same tendency, were with infinite dispatch circulated all over the kingdom. By this time there were upwards of sixty thousand people tumultuously assembled at Edinburgh; the commissioner thinking it neither safe nor honourable to reside there, took up his abode at Dalkeith; but being entreated by deputies sent from the city of Edinburgh to reside at Holyrood-house, he agreed so to do, on the deputies becoming bound for the peaceable behaviour of the citizens: this being agreed to, he set out from Dalkeith, accompanied by the lords of the privy-council, and such of the nobility and gentry as were well affected to his cause. About half way he was met by the whole body of nobility and gentry covenanters, who had assembled at Edinburgh on horseback, and behind them the ministers and commonalty on foot, making an ostentatious display of their power and numbers. As he rode on, one of the ministers offered to entertain his grace with a speech, but he being well acquainted with the nature of their harangues, politely declined the compliment.

The commissioner then opened to the covenanters his main propositions, which were, "first, to be informed what they expected from the king in satisfaction for their complaints; second, that on their part they should return to their obedience and renounce the covenant." To which they replied, "that all they demanded from the king, was his calling a general assembly and parliament: that, as to what was desired of them, it was absurd to require people to return to their obedience who had never departed from it; and, as for renouncing the covenant, they would sooner renounce their baptism, than abate one syllable of it." They even invited the commissioner himself to subscribe to it, informing him, "with what peace and comfort it had filled the hearts of all God's people; what

resolutions and beginnings of reformation of manners, were sensibly perceived in all parts of the nation; how great glory the Lord had received thereby; and what confidence they had, that God would make Scotland a blessed kingdom."

In the mean time, zeal against the liturgy rose to an unexampled height; and the covenanters hearing, that on the Sunday following it was to be read before the commissioner, at Holyrood-house, they sent him notice, that if it should be used there any more, the clergyman who officiated should certainly be put to death.

It was in vain to treat with, and not very safe to reside among, people in such a frame of mind. The commissioner returned to London; made another fruitless journey to Edinburgh with new concessions; went back again to London; and again returned with concessions the most ample and satisfactory which could be given to their repeated and rising demands: these were rejected in such a manner, as evidently to show that the covenanters would admit of no satisfaction; and that they aimed at nothing less than engrossing the whole power of the nation, by the destruction of royal authority.

Charles perceiving the dangerous tendency of such a band of union as the covenant, without the sanction of public authority, and expressly contrary to the law of the land, wished to substitute in its place a band of union, which, while it consisted of the same violent renunciation of popery with the other, at the same time expressed more duty and loyalty to the king. He accordingly prepared a covenant, nearly the same with that subscribed by the late king, A. D. 1580, and afterwards by all ranks of the people; this he required to be subscribed; but as the covenanters perceived it was meant to weaken and divide them, they resolved that no obedience should be paid to it. He at the same time, by his royal proclamation, discharged the use of the service book, book of canons, and high commission, and rescinded all deeds whatever that had been made for establishing them. He also discharged the urging of the five

articles of Perth (though he really had not the power within himself so to do, they being established both by general assembly and by the Parliament), and at the same time indicted a general assembly and parliament.

The indiction, however, of a general assembly and parliament, could not fail to be agreeable to the covenanters, although they churlishly forbore to acknowledge their satisfaction. They now set about modelling the election of members for the ensuing assembly in such a manner, that not any but the most rigid of their party should be chosen; they perceived in their clergy a spirit of moderation beginning to gleam, by no means suitable to their designs. The clergy of Glasgow, in a body, had written a solemn letter of thanks to the commissioner, on the king's proclamation discharging the service book, &c., and the interested leaders of the covenant plainly saw that all their misrepresentations would not avail, without the influence of an undue election. Before the establishment of prelacy, the laick and ecclesiastical members in the general assembly were nearly equal; but James VI. apprehensive of zeal in the laity, had deprived them of their seats; these, *the tables*, who assumed to themselves a supreme power, restored. They also issued an edict, ordaining, that from every parish a lay elder, as well as the minister, should attend the presbytery, and give his voice in the election, both of the commissioners and ministers, who should be deputed to the assembly. Thus the number of ministers and elders composing a presbytery being equal, as it was not customary for the ministers, named as candidates, to claim a vote, the election by that means fell entirely into the hands of the laity. *The tables* fell upon another device, which rendered the election a mere farce, and showed how little an assembly, chosen by the unrestrained suffrages of the electors, would have answered their purpose. They themselves nominated all the members for the ensuing assembly; and in their private instructions, they ordained, that the commissioner of the shire should on the day before the election, administer

an oath to the elders, that they should vote for none to be members of assembly, but such as were already nominated by *the tables*. If after all these precautions, any malignant member should happen to be introduced, they had an easy way of setting him aside, and this was by libelling him before the assembly as guilty of some offence, no matter how void of truth, or even of probability; for by their constitutions, if any member was accused before the ecclesiastical courts, he could not claim a vote until he had cleared himself of the accusation.

They accordingly rid themselves of the prelates in a very summary manner. They accused the two archbishops, and the whole of the bishops of Scotland, as guilty, each of them respectively, of excessive drinking, whoring, gaming, profanation of the sabbath, contempt of public ordinances, and family worship, mocking at preaching, prayer, and spiritual conference; as also of bribery, simony, dishonesty, perjury, oppression, adultery, and incest. For the better publication of this libel, it was read in all the churches of Edinburgh, immediately after the communion; and the day being far spent, the thanksgivings and prayers usual after that religious ordinance, were omitted, to make way for this pious proclamation. Yet so conscious were they of the infamy of the accusation, that when the assembly was held, they did not even attempt to prove the libel.

That no device might be omitted for practising upon the passions of the lower orders, the covenanters called to their aid a *prophetess*, who was a clergyman's daughter of the name of Mitchelson; this woman being subject to hysterical disorders, and being also tainted with the religious prejudices of the times, she used to pour forth wild incoherent rhapsodies, which as they were accompanied with hysterical gestures and violent contortions of feature, produced the more sensible effect upon the spectators, who were lost in astonishment, while they deemed her frantic appearance and exclamations the immediate impulse of supernatural influence. The covenant was her per-

petual theme, and its leaders paid her the most profound veneration: the true genuine covenant, she said, was ratified in heaven; but the king's covenant was an invention of satan, and all its adherents should be confounded. When she spoke of Christ, she usually called him the covenanting Jesus. Rollock, then minister of the College Church, being desired by the spectators to pray with her, answered, "that he durst not; for it would be ill manners in him to speak while his master, Christ, was speaking in her." She spoke but at times, and frequently had intermissions of days and weeks, and when she felt the *presentiment* of an approaching impulse, the joyful news was sounded abroad: nobility, gentry, clergy, in short, all ranks flew with eagerness to learn her inspirations. Thousands, whom the crowded house could not receive, clung about the walls, striving to hear the least whisper of the holy sound. Her ravings were deemed the operations of the holy spirit; her prophecies the oracles of truth; and each went away animated with enthusiastic fervour, and rivetted in his principles, by this immediate declaration of heaven in their behalf.

On the 21st of November, the assembly met at Glasgow; agreeably to the royal proclamation; but the commissioner perceiving the manner in which the covenanters were carrying on the business, and knowing the resolutions they had formed, dissolved the assembly; the covenanters forseeing this step, their moderator addressed his grace in a well-written speech, which he had ready for the occasion, entreating him not to leave them. But he required the moderator to say prayers, and dismiss the assembly; this not being complied with, he retired, the court continuing to sit, notwithstanding the commissioner had pronounced it dissolved. In one hour, all the acts of assembly, passed since the accession of James to the throne of England, were declared null and void, although many of them had been confirmed by parliament. Afterwards, the whole of the bishops were deprived and excommunicated; episcopacy, the articles of Perth, the canons and the liturgy

were abolished, and every one ordered to subcribe to the covenant under pain of excommunication.

The covenanters now found that there would soon be a necessity of having recourse to arms, in order to support themselves against the king; a meeting of the different estates was therefore held at Edinburgh, and being resolved to act *conscientiously*, the opinions of eminent lawyers and divines were taken, concerning the legality of entering into a defensive war, as it was named by the covenanters. The answer, of course, was delivered in the affirmative, and sir Thomas Hope, although he held the office of his majesty's advocate, was not ashamed to assist at this consultation, and to concur in the resolution.

War being unanimously agreed on, Lesley was appointed general, and operations commenced on the 21st of March, A. D. 1639, by an attack upon Edinburgh castle, which (as it had been provided by its prudent governor with no more than a peace establishment of men, and was utterly destitute of provisions), surrendered at the first summons. Their next enterprize was an attack upon the House of Dalkeith, which then belonged to the crown; being a place of inconsiderable strength, it also presently surrendered; it was well furnished with military stores, which were immediately removed for the purpose of supplying Edinburgh Castle, Those who had conducted the military operations, flushed with success, determined that a fortification should be erected at Leith. The work was began, and carried on with infinite alacrity; not only the labourers, but an incredible number of volunteers, nobility, gentry, and even ladies themselves, surmounting the delicacy of their sex, put their hand to the work, happy, if at any expense, they could promote so pious a cause.

The covenanters displayed their sagacity, in making the most ample preparations for the ensuing contest. Not trusting alone to their own vigour and unanimity, they dispatched their emissaries to London, for the purpose of engaging the nonconformists in their cause; and knowing the disgust which France

had conceived against Charles, for having declared his resolutions to oppose her making conquest of the Low Countries, they applied to cardinal Richlieu, who secretly lent them assistance; but the chief difficulty they had to encounter, lay in raising money: to provide this necessary sinew of war, various expedients were resorted to during the contention; by one of them, they prevailed on a merchant of the name of Dick, who had amassed a degree of wealth not usually acquired by commerce, to lend them £20,000 sterling, and flattering his vanity, by making him lord provost of Edinburgh, they so drained him of all his property, that in the end, he literally died in poverty. They next ordained every person to bring in his plate to the receiver general, for which he was to receive a bond on one of the parties embarked in the cause. This proposal was not immediately relished; but the pulpits being set to work, and the women entering keenly into the measure, it was adopted. The committee of estates next proceeded to impose an excise on sundry species of goods, but the citizens learning their design, rose tumultuously, surrounded the house where they sat, and compelled them to discharge the tax; yet so easily was the mob practised upon by the ministers, that by their persuasion, they at the next meeting of the estates allowed it to be imposed, without making any resistance. But the estates fell upon another expedient for replenishing their purses, on which they valued themselves highly; when any person was suspected of malignity, or in other words, attachment to the royal cause, he was immediately called before them, and ordered to lend them one or two hundred pounds sterling, or more according to his supposed ability; if he scrupled, the proportion was immediately doubled; or if he professed want of money, some of the collectors, who were always at hand, offered to lend him the sum, payable against the next term, with interest. This, they said, was a notable device for reaching malignants.

It will be necessary here to add, that these several expedients for raising money were not all invented and executed at

once, recourse being had to them when all others had failed. The borrowing of Dick's money took place, A. D. 1639; the bringing in of the silver plate, in 1640; and that of imposing an excise, in January, 1645.

Charles having collected a force of twenty ships of war, with 5000 land forces on board, under the command of the marquis of Hamilton, he was instructed to enter the Forth, and reduce Edinburgh and Leith to obedience, and by making what impression he could on these parts, to prevent new levies from being made, or succours of any sort being sent to the Scots' army, then on its march for England. The fleet accordingly arrived in the Forth, but remained in a state of total inaction; until the sudden peace, which Charles patched up with the Scots, made him recall this warlike pageant. By an article in this treaty, it was stipulated, that the garrisons should be restored to the king; Edinburgh Castle was accordingly delivered to the marquis of Hamilton; but the Covenanters justly suspecting that no lasting peace would flow from so inconsiderate a treaty, still continued in a warlike posture.

A. D. 1641, Charles made a journey to Edinburgh, with a desire to settle the peace with Scotland. There he resigned almost every branch of his prerogative, in so much, that he hardly retained more than the empty name of royalty; every species of preferment in wealth, title, and office, he bestowed on those whose fidelity to him was suspected, or whose enmity was avowed. The marquis of Hamilton was created a duke; but while the patent was passing the seals, he left Edinburgh, on pretence that the court had plotted his assassination. The earl of Argyle, his apparent rival, and head of the Covenanters, was created a marquis; yet, on pretence of a similar danger, he likewise absented himself. The general who conducted the army against Charles into England, was created earl of Leven, and governor of Edinburgh Castle; and the moderator of the general assembly, who with illegal violence, had abolished episcopacy, was rewarded with the revenues of the

chapel royal. As for his steady friends, they were dismissed from all their employments, or passed by in total neglect. In this manner the king lost all his friends, without gaining his enemies.

Upon the breaking out of the civil wars in England, a new covenant was drawn up at Edinburgh, in the name of all ranks of the people of Scotland, England, and Ireland, in which the subscribers bound themselves to the mutual defence of each other, against all opponents whatever, to abolish popery and prelacy, and to reform the church of England, according to the word of God, and example of the purest churches; and an army of twenty thousand men, conducted by the earl of Leven, entered England on behalf of the parliament.

The court of high commission having decreed the death of the king, the Scottish court of parliament passed an ordinance, repeating their disapprobation of the bloody measures which had been pursued against him, and proclaiming his son Charles king of Great Britain: but at the same time declaring, before he should be admitted to the exercise of the royal authority, he should be obliged to subscribe the solemn league and covenant, and indeed to give security for his good behaviour; but he did not owe this declaration in his behalf, so much to any favour they entertained for his person, or for monarchy, as to the enmity which they entertained against the *Independents*, and the indignation they felt, at seeing their covenant despised and rejected by the English. For when the committee of estates learned, that his majesty had not closed with them in the proposals which they had sent to him at the Hague, for the security of religion; out of forty members which sat in the committee, eighteen voted that no more addresses should be sent to the king. A violent remonstrance by the western counties, then in arms, was presented to the estates against their treating with the king; and when he arrived in Scotland, in consequence of an after agreement with the estates, the great apostle of the covenant received him with a public harangue;

in which he told the king, that if he did not persist in the covenant, " Actum est de rege, et re regia."

In the mean time, Montrose having received a commission from the king, appointing him captain-general in Scotland, landed in the north with about 500 foreigners, gallantly attempting to seat the king on his native throne, on more reasonable terms than were proposed to him by the rigid covenanters. But he suffered a total overthrow; and disguising himself in the habit of a peasant, he entrusted himself to a perfidious friend, who betrayed him; and he was carried a prisoner to Edinburgh, and finally executed.

The English parliament, foreseeing that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, sent into Scotland an army of 16,000 men, under the command of Cromwell, in order to sow divisions among them; the army crossed the Tweed on the 22nd of July, and marching by Haddington, towards Edinburgh, they encamped near the Pentland Hills, within a few miles of the city. The Scottish army, under the command of Lesley was drawn up at Corstorphine; whence the chancellor, who was with them, wrote to the magistrates of Edinburgh for a supply of provisions; requesting them at the same time " to ply the Lord and his throne, with strong prayers and supplications in their behalf," without whose help they were entirely ruined. The Scottish army afterwards entrenched themselves in a fortified camp, between Edinburgh and Leith; and Cromwell, having endeavoured in vain to provoke them to battle, and having suffered in several skirmishes, returned to Dunbar.

The subscription of the covenant being warmly urged upon Charles, and, indeed, made an indispensible preliminary by his subjects, to their paying him allegiance; and the king seeing no other way of recovering his dominions, at last consented to it, but with exceeding reluctance. Accordingly he sailed for Scotland, but before he was suffered to set his foot on shore, he was waited on by a deputation of the clergy, who enacted

his subscription to the national, and to the solemn league and covenant; and at the same time fortified his mind with many zealous exhortations to persevere in it. The covenant being subscribed to, he was permitted to land; but all his friends who had attended on him from Holland, and who shared with him the varieties of his fortune, as being *malignants* and profane persons, were debarred from his presence; and the clergy would permit none but their own creatures to be near him. They next extorted from him a declaration, in which, among other things, "he gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of Providence, by which he was recovered out of the snare of evil councils. That he detested and abhorred popery, prelacy, and schism, and was resolved not to countenance, *nor even tolerate* them in any part of his dominions; and that he was determined in life, or even unto death, to prosecute the ends of the covenant, &c."

Not contented with the contumelies they had heaped upon their sovereign, they prepared for him a scene of still greater indignity; nothing now would satisfy the clergy, but that the king should do public penance before the whole land. The event of the battle of Dunbar, however, saved him from this mortifying disgrace; and they now found it necessary to treat him with somewhat more discretion; lest, by urging him to extremity, he might be inclined to leave them entirely, and join the *malignants*; therefore, the penance which they had ordained for him, was changed into the ceremony of his coronation.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Restoration of Charles II. to the Accession of James VII.

Charles, being now restored to the throne of his ancestors, the loyalists, so long depressed, gave full scope to their passion for monarchy, by an ample increase of the power and prerogative of the crown. The city of Edinburgh as a testimony of her loyalty, sent the king £1000.

Charles, on his accession, had written to the presbytery of Edinburgh, assuring them of his determination to support the church government, as by law established; but in this he acted with his usual duplicity; for the complaisant parliament, which met soon after, rescinded at one stroke the whole of the acts passed since A. D. 1633, those in favor of presbytery being of the number; episcopacy was tacitly re-established, and a royal proclamation which followed, left the king's intentions on this point no longer doubtful.

The Scots had ever entertained a violent aversion to episcopacy. Charles had but just recovered from the effects of it, when his subjects received him from Breda; the security of the presbyterian religion was stipulated as a preliminary article, to their paying him allegiance; and at his coronation, he bound himself by the most solemn oath to preserve it, which was repeated at the restoration. The presbyterians could not restrain their indignation against the complicated perfidy which revoked the laws establishing their religion; which substituted a detested liturgy, for the simplicity of their own worship; which even debarred them from their own communion, and enforced, by heavy pecuniary mulcts, a rigid attendance on the established church.

The zeal of the royalists, overcoming their prudence, they embraced every opportunity of displaying the triumph of their party. The presbyterians had also been always averse to the observing of particular days, which they deemed highly superstitious, perhaps even impious; and when required to observe the birth-day, they answered thus: "That they kept with strictness the holy christian sabbath; that they would keep no other holy-day; that for the most cogent reasons, they did not observe Christmas nor Easter; and, that they could not do for their *king*, what had not been required of them to do for their *Saviour*." The privy council, besides insisting on the keeping the birth-day, enforced the rigid keeping of Lent, and extended the *meagre days* to every Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday throughout the year, on which days, no person dared to eat flesh without warrant from the privy council. The seeds of mutual jealousy being thus sown, they sprung up to a rancour which disgraces the era in which they took place.

The episcopal religion was so generally disagreeable, that nearly one half of the clergy of Scotland were deprived of their benefices for not conforming to it; many of them were so determined, that on no account whatever would they take the oath of allegiance, but preferred deprivation and banishment, the certain consequences of their refusal. Enormous fines were imposed on account of non-attendance on the established worship, and on other absurd pretexts; insomuch, that in the course of one session of parliament, £85,000 sterling was drawn from the subject, by those tyrannical exactions; and arbitrary imprisonment was carried to that height, that several instances occurred, of gentlemen of family and fortune, having upon vague suspicion of being disaffected, been detained in prison for a period of five years.

But none of these acts of tyranny so greatly exasperated the people, as the strict prohibition of every meeting for the purpose of religious worship, excepting that by law established; these meetings were denominated *conventicles*,

and all who assisted at them were made liable to fines, imprisonment, and corporeal punishment, at the discretion of the privy council; and to aggravate the sufferings of the people, military force was employed in the execution of these tyrannous proceedings.

Irritated by such manifold oppression, the western shires, which had been the principal sufferers, rose in arms, surprising and disarming a small party of the king's forces at Dumfries, and thence they marched towards Edinburgh; still, however, they professed submission to the king, only requiring the re-establishment of the presbyterian religion, and of their former ministers. The privy-council were extremely alert in their endeavours to suppress this insurrection; general Dalzell was sent to oppose them, and the city of Edinburgh was put into a posture of defence; however, the insurgents were speedily routed, with the loss of fifty killed, and one hundred and thirty taken prisoners; the remainder were suffered to escape.

About forty of these people suffered on the scaffold, some of whom had been previously tortured, and the limbs of several were set up in various parts of the kingdom; many of the sufferers were transported to a degree of enthusiasm, which elevated them beyond every power of external circumstance. "Farewell," (says one of them in his dying moments), "farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell world and time; farewell weak and frail body; welcome eternity; welcome saints and angels; welcome Saviour of the world; and welcome God, the judge of all."

To reconcile the people to episcopacy, a scheme of *comprehension* was proposed: by which it was intended, that the authority of the bishops should be diminished, and the most obnoxious parts of episcopal church government abolished. But the presbyterian, puffed up with his own ideal sanctity, rejected communion with a different sect. Another measure was then adopted by the government, which was expected to give satisfaction to those of both persuasions. In the

vacant churches, they admitted such of the expelled preachers as had conducted themselves with some degree of moderation, and bestowed on them a small salary, of about twenty guineas a year; requiring of them no submission to the established religion, and permitting them to exercise the presbyterian form of worship in their congregations; at the same time, a scanty living was provided for such of the expelled preachers, as could not find vacant churches for their admission; upon condition, that in the mean time, they should refrain from preaching in public.

These indulgences were at first accepted very graciously: but the minds of the people were again irritated, by several of the most extravagant of the presbyterian clergy, who had been banished for their outrages; from their places of retreat in Holland, they found means to disperse in this country a number of inflammatory publications, which enraged the people against measures that had before afforded great satisfaction. Indeed, the populace themselves did not relish the discourses of their re-instated preachers, as they observed, "*that the salt of their doctrine had lost its savour.*" The government considering, that all pretences for holding conventicles were removed by the indulgences, these meetings were prohibited under very heavy penalties, the hearers being subjected to pecuniary fines, and the preacher, (of the field conventicle), to death itself. The magistrates of royal boroughs were at the same time compelled to give bond, that no conventicles should be held within their jurisdiction; and the penalties named in the bonds were rigorously enacted, especially from the magistrates of Edinburgh.

The late indulgences had wrought no solid or lasting influence upon the people, and the attempt of a desperate fanatic, heightened the displeasure of the court against them. As his grace, archbishop Sharp, of St. Andrews, was waiting in his coach at the head of Blackfriars' Wynd for the bishop of Orkney, who was at the moment stepping into it, a

pistol was discharged at the archbishop, by one Mitchell, a presbyterian preacher, which missed him, but wounded the bishop of Orkney in the groin, and broke his arm; Mitchell escaped for that time, but about six years afterwards, the archbishop recognized him as he was eyeing him narrowly, and had him apprehended. On him there was found a pistol loaded with three balls, which no doubt was intended for the destruction of the obnoxious primate: after various deliberations, Mitchell was sentenced to be executed, and suffered accordingly, though promise of pardon had been held out to him by an act of the privy council; but several of the lords positively swore no such promise had been made to him. The records of the privy council, however, remain to this hour, the incontestible monument of their perfidy.

In proportion as the covenanters betrayed their disaffection, new methods were devised for enlarging the power of the crown, and new rigours were exercised over the people. Among others, a statute was passed, declaring that the settling of every thing, which respected the external government of the church, was a branch of the royal prerogative. That whatever related to ecclesiastical affairs and persons, was to be regulated by such directions as the king should send to his privy council, and that these being published by them should have the force of laws. Nothing could be more absurd than this enactment; the king and parliament well knew the great body of the people were strongly attached to one particular mode of religion, and that by this statute the king might legally have re-established the catholic religion had he thought proper, and probably would have done it had he supposed it practicable.

The popular preachers took every occasion to inflame the passions of the people, and to provoke them to throw off their allegiance; every instance of compliance, with every act of submission to the established government, was represented as impious. The payment of cess, or any species of subsidy was

deemed illegal and sinful, and even termed "a consummate and crimson wickedness, the cry whereof reached heaven;" and to be guilty of celebrating the birth-day, was nothing less than "blasphemy against the spirit of God."

Besides inculcating resistance to the established government, they called to their aid the doctrine of assassination, which they denominated "*The execution of righteous judgement by private men*," a doctrine which, afterwards in the most solemn manner and in the utmost latitude, they adopted and avowed. The first person of any note who fell a sacrifice to this doctrine, was the archbishop of St. Andrew's, yet his murder does not appear to have been at that time premeditated. Hackston of Rathillet, a gentleman of Fifeshire, with eight farmers of that county, armed, being in pursuit of one Carmichael, who had rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the presbyterians by his rigorous assiduity in harassing those who attended conventicles, unfortunately met his grace instead of Carmichael (who being put on his guard, kept out of their way); these fanatics exclaimed with gloomy rapture, "He is delivered into our hands," and instantly resolved on his death. The archbishop seeing himself pursued by armed men, ordered his coachman to drive with full speed, and as he was gaining ground on the assassins, they discharged their pieces at the coach, in which the primate with his daughter were seated. Neither of them, however, were hurt; but one of the gang who happened to be well mounted, getting before the coach, struck the postillion to the ground with his broad sword, and cut the traces of the coach; the other ruffians being come up, poured their shot upon the bishop, and tearing him with brutal ferocity from the arms of his daughter, dragged him from the coach, and being pierced with redoubled wounds, he expired in her view; the party then made their escape, glorying in the deed they had committed.

From breaches of the law, the fanatical party proceeded to renounce, with much formality, all submission to the government, and chose the anniversary of the restoration as

the most proper day for commencing their operations. Accordingly, about eighty of them assembled at Rutherglen, where they extinguished the bonfire lighted for the solemnization of the birthday; after which they proceeded to burn several acts of parliament, together with acts of the privy council, chiefly those establishing prelacy, not forgetting also to express the same mark of contempt and indignation for the *act of indulgence*. Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards known by the title of lord of Dundee, was dispatched by the privy council to seize on and disperse the party, as well as to prevent all field conventicles. On arriving at the spot, he found the rabble had increased to a great degree, to whom one of the field preachers was making an harangue. Graham, on opening his commission, found himself instructed, that in case he met with resistance, he should fight the enemy, however great their number might be. He attacked the party accordingly; but the superiority of their numbers being immense, he was soon repulsed with considerable loss on his side, and his own horse shot under him, on which he retreated to Glasgow, where expecting to be in his turn attacked, he barricaded the streets. On the next day a skirmish took place, but the insurgents were repulsed; Graham then abandoned the city and returned to Edinburgh.

Flushed with this partial success, the disaffected increased daily. The privy council were also on the alert, and called out the militia of those counties who they knew were well affected; the landed gentlemen on horseback, with all their followers, were also required to be in attendance, together with the train bands of Edinburgh, who joined the royal army, and an express was sent off to London for a body of English forces; the castles of Edinburgh and Sterling were supplied with military stores and fortified; the duke of Monmouth was sent to Scotland with four troops of horse, and invested with the supreme command.

Upon the 19th of June, the duke joined the army, and on

the 22d came up with the insurgents, who were about three times their number; the opposing armies were drawn up on the opposite banks of the Clyde: the pass of Bothwell Bridge was strongly barricaded and guarded by three thousand of the covenanters. The duke dispatched a troop of dragoons with eighty musqueteers and four field pieces to force the bridge and defeat the party. As the duke approached, the rebel army beat a parley, and sent one of their party with a preacher to express their demands, which were, "that they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and that a new parliament and general assembly, unfettered by any oaths, should be called for settling the affairs both of church and state." The duke received them with civility, but told them "he could listen to no terms until they should lay down their arms;" upon which the conference broke up. During the parley the duke had, unobserved by the enemy, planted four field pieces opposite to the bridge, which now began to play; some hundred of the opposing enemy were killed, and the rest being but ill supplied with ammunition, retreated to the main body of the army; the passage of the bridge being effected, the duke with his army formed upon the opposite banks. The artillery was now moved to the centre of the foot guards, on the first discharge of which, the enemies horse were thrown into confusion, and instantly a total rout took place; about seven hundred were killed in the pursuit, and a great number were made prisoners; these were sent to Edinburgh, where two of the preachers were hanged, and those who would engage to live peaceably under the government were dismissed, while many were so obstinate and perverse as to refuse this mark of favour, and about two hundred and fifty were banished, but unfortunately perished by shipwreck in the voyage. In behalf of those who had the good fortune to escape from the battle of Bothwell Bridge, an act of indemnity was proclaimed, and Lauderdale embracing the opportunity to screen himself, procured the pardon to be extended to all those who

had advised any thing contrary to law, or had been guilty of malversation in public office. Upon this great and signal victory gained over the infatuated covenanters, the city of Edinburgh presented the freedom of the burgh to the duke of Monmouth in a gold box.

In order if possible to remove from the covenanters future occasions of offence, they were indulged in the liberty of attending house-conventicles, for the purpose of hearing their own ministers; these indulgences, however, were insufficient to soften the spirit of such zealots as the covenanters. Indeed, it does not appear that indulgence was what they wanted; to extirpate, or in the enterprise be extirpated, seems to have been the object which they had in view. This being their principle, it was immaterial to them whether the government proceeded with lenity or rigour. Accordingly, within a twelvemonth from the battle of Bothwell Bridge, Cargill and Cameron, two furious fanatical preachers, drew up a declaration, which they published at Sanquhar, assisted by a small body of armed men, wherein they renounced their allegiance to the king, and solemnly declared war against him as a tyrant and usurper. Cargill shortly afterwards, before a numerous field conventicle to whom he was preaching, excommunicated the king, the duke of York, and chief officers of state, using these words:— "I, being a minister of Jesus Christ, and having authority and power from him, do, in his name and by his spirit, excommunicate, cast out of the true church, and deliver up to Satan, Charles the Second, &c. &c."

A party of cavalry were sent out to apprehend the authors of this treasonable declaration, who still continued in arms, and whose numbers were now increased to one hundred and fifty. The regular forces, consisting of about half that number, met them at a place called *Air's Moss*; Hackston of Rathillet, who commanded the rebels, drew up his party on the edge of the morass, thereby providing for a safe retreat, as the king's forces being cavalry, would be impeded by the morass if they

attempted to follow in case of a defeat. A battle commenced, in which the rebels were defeated with considerable slaughter; Cameron, the seditous preacher, was killed, and Hackston, with thirteen others, were taken prisoners. Hackston was tried before the court of justiciary at Edinburgh; not only his present offence, but also those he had before committed were brought against him: he was found guilty, condemned, and executed on the same day, and his quarters put up in the chief cities in the kingdom. During his trial, he expressly denied the king's authority and that of the court of justiciary. Several of his followers were also tried and convicted; these were offered their lives if they would say "God save the king;" but (to use their own words), "they chuse rather to endure all torture, and embrace death in its most terrible aspect, than to offer the tyrant and his accomplices any acknowledgement."

An act was now passed, declaring the divine, indefeasible, hereditary right of kings; and another, by which all persons in office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, were obliged to take a test, acknowledging the king's supremacy, professing the protestant religion as contained in the confession of faith, and binding themselves from ever making any change or alteration therein, renouncing the covenant, and professing the doctrine of passive obedience. This test appears to have been a mass of absurdity and contradiction; many that were zealously attached to the crown, refused to take it without an explanation. Accordingly when Argyle took it, he added an explanation, which within itself was perfectly innocent; however, a charge was made against him for high treason, and a jury of his own rank was found infamous enough to convict, and a court to condemn him. The king suspended execution of the sentence, and Argyle for this time escaped; but afterwards, upon his subsequent rebellion, suffered upon the same iniquitous judgement. All who took this test were absolved from their former offences, but those who would not comply were persecuted with the greatest severity.

These oppressions, co-operating with their fanatical dispositions, led them to profess principles and resolutions, which any regular government would be justified in suppressing, even by the severest measures. A numerous society of these people were accustomed to meet periodically, and keep minutes of their proceedings. They published a declaration, entitled "The apologetical declaration and admonitory vindication of the true presbyterians of the church of Scotland, especially anent, (i. e.), concerning intelligencers and informers." It bore this motto, "Let king Jesus reign, and all his enemies be scattered." In this declaration they disavowed the authority of Charles Stuart (so they designated the king), declared war against him, and plainly spoke out their resolution to murder the lords of justiciary, all officers and soldiers in the army or militia, all possessed of any office, civil or military, all bishops and curates, all who should seize or apprehend them, and, finally, all who should inform or give testimony against them in any court of justice. "If any of these persons," saith the declaration, "should stretch forth their hands against us to the shedding of our blood, while we are maintaining the cause and interest of Christ against his enemies, in the defence of our covenanted reformation."

This threatening manifesto excited the deeper alarm, as two soldiers of the life guards, who had been exceedingly active in making discoveries of the conventicles, were found murdered at Livingstone, within a few nights after its publication, which called forth on behalf of the king an oath of abjuration, and a body of troops were sent into the parish, authorized to call before them the inhabitants of that and the five adjoining parishes, and interrogate them upon the aforesaid declaration; those who owned it, or justified its principles, were instantly to be executed by martial law, and those who refused to answer, were immediately to be brought before a jury of fifteen men, and the sentence pronounced against them was to be followed by immediate execution.

In Edinburgh, the officers of the king's troops, and even the common soldiers, were ordered to go through the city, but more particularly the Calton, a quarter of the city where none but the lowest mechanics resided, and put the oath of abjuration; but after the violent alarm which the apolegetical declaration had raised was subsided, those who refused the oath, or declined to answer the questions put to them, were generally subjected to nothing but imprisonment, and at the death of the king, the severities of the government were for some time much abated.

CHAPTER V.

From the Accession of James VII. A. D. 1685, to the final Establishment of the Presbyterian Religion.

On the accession of James VII. to the throne, the citizens of Edinburgh presented a loyal address, and were so delighted with the affectionate letter which James addressed to them in return, that they ordered a box of curious workmanship to be made for the purpose of containing it.

Soon after a parliament was held at Edinburgh, which seemed to glory in the solemnity with which it made a surrender of the people's liberties into the hands of their sovereign; and among other statutes which were then framed, was one declaring, that to embrace the covenant, or write in its defence, or acknowledge it to be obligatory, should be considered treason. And on the other hand, every person was commanded to take the test, under a pecuniary penalty, at the discretion of the privy council.

A. D. 1686. The public attendance upon mass, by the chief officers of state, about this time, excited a great tumult in Edinburgh; a mob insulted the chancellor's lady, and other persons of distinction, when returning from their chapel: this affront was resented with great severity. A journeyman baker was ordered to be publicly whipped through the Canon-gate for being concerned in the riot; but the mob rose and rescued the culprit from the executioner, and continued all night in the greatest ferment and uproar. The king's foot guards, and soldiers from the castle, were brought to assist the town-guard in quelling the disturbance; they fired on the mob, and killed two men and a woman. On the following day several were whipped through the city; the privy council were so alarmed

at the threats of the populace, that they appointed a double file of musqueteers and pikemen in order to prevent the rescue of those who were sentenced to punishment. An information was at the same time laid against a drummer, by two papists, for saying, "he could find in his heart to run his sword through *them*," and although he declared that he meant the rabble, not the papists, he was condemned and shot. And a fencing master for approving of the late tumult, and drinking confusion to the papists, although he at the same time drank the king's health, was hung at the cross.

The press now groaned under that restriction which was imposed on every species of liberty; no books were allowed to be printed without the consent of the chancellor; and no paragraphs were allowed to be inserted in the newspapers, without a license from the bishop of Edinburgh, or some member of the privy council; and various persons were imprisoned for publishing, or selling books reflecting on popery, while those in its favour were published with impunity. So great was the partiality, at this juncture, in behalf of this religion, that a popish printer's press and effects, which were seized for rent by his landlord, were rescued, and the printer himself protected in the abbey; and such was the zeal for making proselytes to this religion, that a popish college in the abbey printed their rules, *and invited all children to be educated there gratis.*

The effects of these, and similar proceedings, by which the constitution was totally annihilated, were conspicuous in Edinburgh; and no sooner was it known that the prince of Orange had landed, and that the regular troops were withdrawn to reinforce the English army, than the presbyterians, and other friends to the revolution, flocked to Edinburgh from all quarters, and great severities were exercised against papists, episcopals, and all who were friends to the unhappy and exiled family, of whatever denomination. The earl of Perth, chancellor, fled from Edinburgh; and the government fell into the

hands of the revolutionists. A mob arose, drums were beat through the city, and the inhabitants assembled in great multitudes. They proceeded to demolish the chapel of Holyrood House, but were opposed by a party of about one hundred men, who were stationed in the abbey, and who adhered to the fallen fortunes of James: the mob pressing forward were fired upon by this party; about twelve were killed, and above thirty were wounded, upon which they retreated for the present, but quickly returned with a warrant, which they had obtained from some lords of the privy council. They were now headed by the magistrates, town-guard, trained bands, and heralds at arms, who required Wallace, the head of this little band, to surrender; and upon his refusal, another skirmish ensued, in which Wallace's party were defeated, some being killed, and the rest made prisoners; this being accomplished, there remained nothing more to resist their fury. The abbey church and private chapel were robbed, and despoiled of their ornaments; the college of the jesuits almost pulled into pieces; and the houses of those who professed the Roman catholic religion were plundered. The cellars of the earl of Perth became a notable prey to them; and wine conspiring with bigotry and zeal, inflamed their fury to so high a pitch, that no boundary could be set to their violence. So vacillating was the conduct of the town-council of Edinburgh, that no sooner were they informed of the arrival of the prince of Orange, than they offered their services to him by an address; therein complaining of the hellish attempts of Romish incendiaries, and of the just grievances they all had suffered, in relation to conscience, liberty, and property.

After the chancellor's flight, the marquis of Athole, the next officer of state, who declared decidedly in favour of the prince of Orange, assumed to himself, pro tempore, the reins of government; but upon his going to London, the college of justice armed themselves, and preserved tranquillity in the city.

March 14, A. D. 1689, a convention of estates was held at Edinburgh, which declared, that king James having assumed the regal power without taking the oath required by law, and altered the constitution of the kingdom by an exertion of arbitary power, forfeited his right to the crown, which they settled upon William and Mary; and presented to them a list of grievances to be redressed; among other acts, they deprived several ministers in Edinburgh of their churches, because they declined to pray for the newly appointed sovereigns. The meeting of the estates was converted into a parliament, prelacy was abolished, and the presbyterian form of church government was established in its place, viz: by kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies; the nature and extent of these ramifications of the church being so well known, precludes us from entering more fully into particulars concerning them.

FINIS.

Coe, Printer, Little Carter Lane, St. Paul's.

ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, &c.

THIS elegant structure, which is just completed, stands in that part of the High Street called the Lawn-market, on the north-west corner of Parliament Square, presenting its principal front and entrance to the east. The building is 150 feet in length, and consists of two stories; the lower one comprises two lobbies, several small apartments, and a large room, which is the library of the writers to the signet. The library is very elegantly planned and fitted up; it is divided into two compartments, one of which is oblong, the other square; the division is made by open arches, through which the whole length of the room may be seen, producing a very pleasing effect. The ceiling of the oblong apartment is supported by two rows of Corinthian columns, intended to obviate the inauspicious want of height, which might otherwise have been observable in so large a space; and it must be admitted, that Mr. Stark, the celebrated architect, to whom the interior arrangements and decorations were committed, has happily triumphed over the difficulties which presented themselves in adapting the building to a purpose for which it was not originally intended. The library is 107 feet in length and 42 in breadth. The books are admirably chosen, and a very considerable augmentation of the number is in contemplation: at the extremity of the room, opposite the entrance, is placed a portrait of president Blair.

The upper story of the building is occupied by the advocates' library; its length is 136 feet by 39; the roof is lofty, and ornamented within in a very superior manner. The entrance to this apartment is by five flights of steps, rising near the

door of the lower library. The advocates have been particularly favoured by government in having this part of the building allotted to them, their only contribution being ground for its site worth about £3000, while they receive an advantage estimated at £12,000, though it may be objected that the accommodation is not so eligible as would have been afforded by a structure independently theirs. The ground floor cost the writers to the signet the sum of £5000.

The exterior of the building eastward is ornamented with a beautiful portico; the pediment is supported by four fluted columns with finely carved capitals, and the entrance is ascended to by a handsome flight of steps.

Part of the Parliament House appears in the annexed View, likewise the site of the ancient Tolbooth. This dreary prison having been taken down during the erection of the library, has greatly contributed to improve its situation.

Plan of EDINBURGH New Town

With references to the Notes that appear in the Work

1. New Justiciary House.
2. Albany Street Chapel.
3. St Paul's Chapel.
4. Scotch Catholic Chapel.
5. St George's Chapel.
6. Excise Office.
7. Old Observatory.
8. Nelson's Monument.
9. Prisons.
10. Thomas Monument.
11. Regent Bridge.
12. Trinity College Church.
13. View of Calton Hill.
14. Orphans School.
15. Observatory Royal.
16. North Bridge.
17. Register Office.
18. Physicians Hall.
19. St Andrews Church.
20. Assembly Rooms.
21. New or Charlotte Square.
22. St George's Church.
23. St John's Chapel.
24. St Cuthberts Church.

Plan of EDINBURGH *Old Town*

with reference to the Nos that appear in the work

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

ALBANY STREET CHAPEL.

ALBANY STREET CHAPEL.

This handsome erection is situated at the south-east junction of Albany Street with Broughton Street. The principal entrance is from the east; this front is ornamented with a projecting centre, and a small tower on each side.

The centre contains a large window, divided into three lights by two Ionic pillars: immediately under this window is the entrance, which is ascended to by a flight of steps; a large folding door opens to the vestibule, whence a staircase on either side leads in a circular direction to the gallery; at the foot of the stairs, a door conducts to the body of the building, by a slight descent through sloping passages. The galleries occupy three sides of the chapel, and the pulpit, &c. the fourth; they are supported by eight pillars, three on each side, and the remaining two are directly opposite to the pulpit, which is at the western extremity of the chapel. The east end is of a circular form, occasioned partly by the direction of the gallery stairs. The pulpit is remarkably handsome, and the whole interior is fitted up in a neat and commodious manner. The building is from a design by Mr. David Skae, and was executed in 1816, by Messrs. Peddie and Lumsden; it is calculated to contain about 1200 people; the congregation are independants, under the pastoral care of Mr. Pyne.

The independants are a very numerous party both in Scotland and England, and are principally distinguished for denying all subordination to each other among their clergy; they maintain, that every separate church or particular congregation has in itself, radically and essentially every thing necessary for its own government, and that it has all ecclesias-

tical power and jurisdiction, and is not at all subject to other churches.

The independants are said to have sprung originally from a congregation of Brownists, than whom, they are more moderate in their sentiments, and the order of their discipline. The Brownists allowed all ranks and descriptions of men promiscuously to teach in public, and to perform the other pastoral functions; whereas the independants have their ministers, for the most part, regularly educated, and chosen by the congregations over which they preside; nor is any person among them permitted to speak in public, before he has submitted to a proper examination of his character and talents.

Rapin has asserted, that the independants abhorred monarchy and approved only of a republican government; but though this might be true with regard to several persons among them in common with those of other sects, it does not appear from their public writings that republican principles formed their distinguishing characteristic; and it is evident from their confessions of faith, that they differ from the rest of the reformed churches, in no material point excepting that of church government.

Drawn Engd & Pubd by J & W.S. Storer, Chapel Street, Pentonville, Nov.r 1.1819.

ASSEMBLY ROOMS.

(George Street)

ASSEMBLY ROOMS.

This elegant suit of rooms is contained in an erection of no less elegant exterior appearance, situated about the middle of George Street, in the New Town. The arcade and pediment which have recently been attached to its centre, have contributed greatly to the improvement of the building, though it is matter of surprise, that such an encroachment upon the public way should have been permitted, as the projection is still more offensive than that of St. Andrew's Church, which has been so repeatedly censured. The interior arrangement is admirably suited to the several purposes of the establishment, and contains a ball room, said to be equalled by none in the kingdom, excepting one in the city of Bath; its length is 92 feet, by 42 wide, being 40 feet in height. The supping room, which is on the ground floor, is of the same dimensions though not so lofty, to this are attached six rooms about 18 feet square, two halls, each 32 feet long and 18 in breadth, with roomy cellars and kitchen. The rest of the building is occupied by a tea room, two card rooms, retiring rooms, waiting rooms, and apartments for accommodating the musicians; there is likewise a saloon, lighted by a cupola 22 feet in diameter, which is ornamented by a screen of columns. At each end of the building is a covered way for the entrance of carriages, and the other for chairs, and at the back is a spacious piece of ground for their reception.

The assemblies were formerly held in the new Assembly Close, the first of them known in Edinburgh having been in the year 1710, from which period till 1746, their management continued in private hands; but in this year Messrs. Gavin Hamilton and James Stirling, merchants, took the house in

which assemblies had been previously held, with the design of applying the profits that might arise, to charitable purposes, and Mr. Hugh Clerk agreed to discharge gratuitously the duties of treasurer. They applied to the lords of session, and to several persons of rank for their patronage and countenance, who having agreed to become directors, met on the 20th May, and made the following regulations: *First*, That all things relating to the management of the assembly (dancing excepted), be under the direction of seven gentlemen, to meet occasionally to treat of the affairs of the assembly. *Second*, That the management of dancing and things relating thereto, be under the inspection of seven directoresses (ladies of distinction), alternately to act by agreement amongst themselves; and the lady, on her night of management, to be distinguised by a golden badge, whereon is engraven a pelican feeding her young, with the motto Charity; and on the reverse, the figure of a woman, representing Charity leaning on a shield, charged with the arms of Edinburgh, and a child reclining on her knee; the motto, Edinburgh."

The admission to the old Assembly House was latterly half-a-crown, and the profits were divided between the Royal Infirmary and the Charity workhouse. The price is now five shillings. There are stated periods for the ordinary assemblies, and extraordinary ones occur upon great public events, or when a peer has been elected, and upon these occasions, according to Maitland, "the beauty of the ladies, their address, and performances, are probably no where to be out done."

Drawn, Eng.d & Pub.d by J.& H.S. Storer, Chapel Street, Pentonville, July 1.1820

EXCHANGE BUILDINGS LEITH.

ASSEMBLY ROOMS, OR EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, LEITH.

Though till of late years there were few, if any, buildings in Leith which were deserving of attention, this town can now boast of many handsome structures, among them the Exchange Buildings may be considered the principal. They are much superior to those of the same name at Edinburgh, and occupy a very extensive range of frontage in Constitution Street, at the east end of Bernard's Street. They contain an assembly room of large dimensions, a coffee room, a sale room, a subscription library, and reading room. These buildings are in the Grecian style of architecture; the centre has a projection with a pediment, supported by four Ionic columns; the expense of the building was about £16,000.

An erection of this description in a mercantile town like Leith, appears absolutely necessary for the accommodation of merchants, and other local purposes, but became more needful as the commerce of the town increased. It is obvious, that the situation of Leith upon the immediate banks of the Forth, is more commodious for trade than that of Edinburgh, at the distance of two miles from the river; of this the inhabitants of the latter were so sensible, that they used various expedients to restrain the people of Leith from carrying on trade; and in order to exclude them utterly from every branch of commerce, the citizens of Edinburgh purchased from Logan of Restalrig, the superior, an exclusive privilege of carrying on every species of traffic in Leith, of keeping warehouses there, and inns for the reception and entertainment of stran-

gers; and to complete their oppression, the town council in 1483 prohibited, under severe penalties, the citizens of Edinburgh from taking into partnership any inhabitant of Leith.—The people of this oppressed town, however, obtained favour with Mary of Lorraine, queen-regent, who resided frequently among them; and after they had purchased from Logan at the price of £3000 scots, the superiority of their town, it was erected into a borough of barony; but upon the queen-regent's death, Francis and Mary, in violation of the private rights of the people of Leith, sold the superiority of their town to the community of Edinburgh, to whom it has since been confirmed by grants from successive sovereigns, and it is now the sea-port town of Edinburgh.

THE BANK OF SCOTLAND.

Drawn, Engd & Pubd by J & H.S. Storer, Chapel Street, Pentonville July 1. 1816.

ROYAL SCOTTISH ASIATIC SOCIETY

BANK OF SCOTLAND.

The Bank is situated at the south end of the Mound, and at the northern extremity of Bank-street, which diverges from the High-street a little above St. Giles's. It has a fine effect when viewed from the High-street, presenting an elegant front of the Corinthian order, a range of pilasters decorate the second story, and over the door is a large venetian window. The arms of the Bank appear on the front of the building, finely executed in stone; on a field azure, is a saltier argent between four bazants, all within a bordure of the second; the crest is a cornucopia; on the dexter side is the figure of plenty, holding a cornucopia inverted, and on the sinister, one of justice, both figures large as life—the motto is "Tanto uberior." The centre of the roof is ornamented by a small dome. The lobby is large, and the teller's room is an apartment about 50 feet in length. A curtain wall with a stone ballustrade rises behind the building half way from the foundation, and is intended to conceal the defects which have been occasioned by the extreme declivity of the northern part of the site.

The Bank of Scotland dates its origin from the year 1695, when by act of parliament the company was constituted, and permitted to raise a joint stock of £1,200,000 Scots or £100,000 sterling. The management of their affairs was entrusted to a governor, deputy-governor, and twenty-four directors. The largest share which one could hold was £20,000 Scots, and the smallest £1000. To be a director required £3000; the sum £6000 could warrant any one being chosen a deputy-governor; and the governor must have been possessed of £8000. Every £1000 conferred a vote in the election of these office-bearers.

In 1774, an act was obtained from parliament, authorizing the company to double the original sum of stock, which was therefore raised to £2,400,000 Scots, or £200,000 sterling. In pursuance of this act, it was now requisite for governors, directors, and electors, to have double their former sums in the Bank; those who held shares were allowed to fill up a part of the new capital answering to their old sums, and the deficiency was to be supplied by the highest bidders among the former proprietors, none of them being permitted to exceed £40,000 sterling.

The Bank was thrown into circumstances of great embarrassment by the Royal Bank, soon after the establishment of the latter. They bought up as many notes of the Bank of Scotland as they could obtain, and made extensive demands for immediate payment. The expedient to which this Bank resorted in these straits was the issuing of small notes, which were payable on demand, or at six months after being presented, the former being in value £5, the other £5 : 2 : 6. This practice they commenced on the 9th of November 1730, and on the 12th of December 1732, they adopted a similar plan with their £1 notes—a plan, which from its being followed by other banking companies through Scotland, occasioned a great scarcity of silver in the country, and generated many abuses in the business of Banking. These, however, were done away by an act of parliament in 1765, by which all optional clauses were expunged, and twenty shillings fixed as the lowest sum for promissory notes payable to the bearer.

The Bank of Scotland at one time transacted its business in the Old Bank Close, Lawn-market. The present house was erected not long since by the company at an expence of £75,000, the whole or most of which was defrayed by the unclaimed property in their possession. The stock at present is said to amount to more than a million sterling.

LEITH BANK.

BANK OF LEITH.

This edifice though of small dimensions has a neat and elegant appearance. It stands in St. Bernard's Street, and consists of two floors; a handsome dome rises from the north front, over a projection ornamented with four Ionic columns; three pilasters of the same order on each side decorate the building. This establishment was founded in the year 1805: besides the Leith Banking Company, a branch of the Commercial Banking Company, and of the British Linen Company, are established here.

The Commercial Banking Company of Scotland was founded in 1810, by a number of merchants and others, and is managed by ordinary and extraordinary directors in the same manner as the other public banking houses in Edinburgh. The capital of the company is three millions sterling, and they have agents not only at Leith, but in all the principal provincial towns. All these banks issue promissary notes for various sums not under £1 sterling, payable on demand in cash or Bank of England notes.

The British Linen Company's Bank was established by charter on the 5th of July, 1746, with a view to encourage the linen manufactory, so important in Scotland. The capital of the Company is £500,000, and the business is managed by a governor, deputy governor, and directors. The qualification required for a governor is, that he must have at least £1000 sterling in the stock of the company; a deputy governor must have £500; and a director £300. Proprietors of the stock to the amount of £200 have a vote, those who possess £500 have two votes, and those who have £1000 stock, have four

votes. To the erection of this Bank, in a great measure, is owing the flourishing state of the linen trade in Scotland: Maitland, in his History of Edinburgh, has given an interesting account of this branch of commerce, and has described very distinctly what constitutes the superiority of the Scottish linens, having done which, he says "we may safely conclude that our home manufacture of linen will do double or treble the service to the consumer, that the Dutch Hollands will or possibly can do. From thence it is evident, that £5 laid out in Scottish linens will go as great length in wear as 10 or £15 laid out on Dutch Hollands."

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BLACK FRIARS WYND.

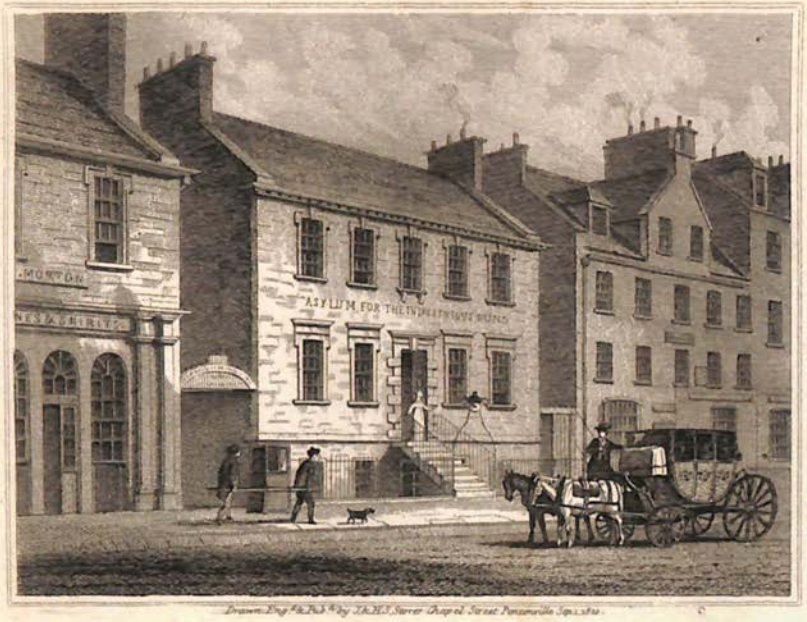
BLACK FRIARS' WYND.

Black Friars' Wynd is one of the steep ascents leading from the Cowgate to the High Street, and was formerly in the possession of a monastery of dominican or black friars, founded by Alexander II. in the year 1230; this religious house was so liberally endowed by its founder and other succeeding monarchs, that the monks are reported to have lived in a very plentiful and splendid manner. In the year 1285, it was destroyed by fire, and scarcely rebuilt at the general dissolution of monasteries, when the reformation of religion took place in Scotland. The black friars' monastery was remarkable for a provincial synod held in its church in 1512, by cardinal Bagiment, the pope's nuncio, to which he summoned all beneficed persons in Scotland, who were to bring with them the yearly amount of their respective benefices, upon oath of which he made a rental called Bagiment's roll, which became a standard for taxing the Scottish ecclesiastics at the court of Rome. "Queen Mary, by her letters patent of the 16th of March, 1562, granted to the Edinburghers this monastery with its appurtenances, on the site whereof to erect an hospital for their aged poor; but they conceiving it to be disadvantageous for such a purpose, obtained a grant of James VI. in the year 1566, indemnifying them for not building in this place, and empowering them to erect an hospital at the Trinity College in Leith Wynd, with a licence to dispose of the Black Friars and its appurtenances in feu, and the profits arising thereby to be appropriated to the maintenance of the hospital at the Trinity College." Accordingly the gardens of the monastery were let for a premium of sixty merks and eleven merks of yearly rent, whereby it appears that

the gardens extended along the eastern part of the town wall to the Cowgate port, and the place denominated the high school yard was the cemetery belonging to the convent. The revenues of this house were so considerable, that their roll contained no less than 200 articles of their rents, and the charters and deeds belonging to their estates were 390.

On the right hand extremity of the accompanying plate, are seen some remains of a wall belonging to the ancient palace of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and on the left is the entrance to an episcopal chapel; the High Street appears through the end of the Wynd.

In the reign of James I. flourished William St. Clair, who married Margaret Douglass, countess of Buchan; this lady was equalled, in state and magnificence, by none, excepting the queen's majesty, she being served by seventy-five gentlewomen, fifty-three of whom were noblemen's daughters; they were attired in velvet and silk, and adorned with chains of gold and other appendages; she was attended in her travels by two hundred gentlemen on horseback, and when needful, with eighty lighted torches. Her lodging at Edinburgh was at the foot of Black Friars' Wynd, probably within the archbishop's palace.



Drawn Engd & Pubd by J.H.M.J. Storer Chapel Street Penzance Sept 1st 1810.

ASYLUM FOR THE BLIND.

ROYAL INSTITUTION OF CORNWALL
HER MAJESTY'S BOTANIC SOCIETY

THE BLIND ASYLUM.

The Blind Asylum, which stands in Nicholson Street, is a building of rather mean appearance, and scarcely to be distinguished from the adjoining dwelling-houses but by an inscription which runs along the front below the windows of the upper story. The rev. Dr. Johnstone, of North Leith, has the merit of projecting this benevolent and useful institution, which is in a great measure supported by voluntary contributions. The otherwise helpless objects who are admitted into it are taught those branches of iudustry that best suit their strength and working abilities, such as the manufactory of mattresses and cushions, of wool, hair, and straw baskets, with all sorts of wicker work, mats of every kind, hair gloves for invalids, nets, cord and twine. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude, that the produce of their labours must contribute, in a great degree, to the means of their subsistence.

In 1816 there were twenty-seven males lodged in the house, besides fourteen blind women who were employed here, and lodged out of the Asylum.

It will be a source of much gratification to every benevolent mind to contemplate the advantages which have been derived from this institution; several of the blind who have received instruction in different branches of manufacture, have left the Asylum, and are now engaged in business on their own account; some of them have acquired a competency by their labour, and others are engaged in spreading the benefits of the parent institution. Among these, Dennis Macqueer, an Irish-

man, may be given as an example; this man, after being employed here in various manufactures, returned to his native country, and established in Belfast a similar school; he instructed fifteen blind persons, each of whom could earn one shilling a day, while his own daily labour was half a crown.

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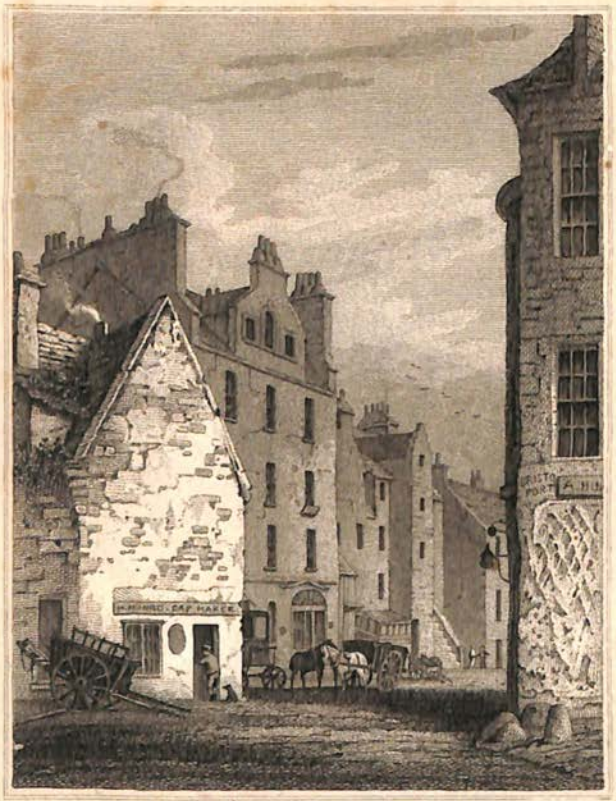


Drawn, Engd & Pubd by J. & H. S. Storer, Chapel Street, Pentonville, Nov.r 1809.

BRISTO PORT.

BRISTOW PORT.

This entrance to the city, according to a charter in the archives of Edinburgh, appears to have been anciently called the Gallow's Gate; probably from its being the street leading to the place of execution: it is now denominated Bristow Port, from the suburbs of this name. Owing to a change of local circumstances this Port has frequently varied its appellation; for at its first erection, about the year 1515, it was from its vicinity to the monastery of Grey Friars, called the Grey Friars' Port; and upon the erection of the Society of Brewers, who settled in its immediate neighbourhood, it acquired the name of the Society Port.

The situation of the city of Edinburgh (observes Maitland), who has given a very particular account of its walls and gates, "plainly shews that its origin is owing to the castle; and by its standing in St. Cuthbert's parish, which still surrounds it on all sides, it appears that this parish was the ancient precinct of the Castle; for those who at first settled in this place undoubtedly did it with a view of protection from that fortress, since there were many places in the neighbourhood much more convenient to be built upon in respect to both the advantages of situation and commerce; so that this town appears for many ages to have been mean and of little note, nor does it seem to have been inhabited or frequented by persons of distinction." In process of time the city increasing, it became a great sufferer by the numerous attacks of enemies, who frequently sacked and burnt it, as it lay open and defenceless; for the avoiding of which, king James II. of Scotland granted to the inhabitants the following charter:

"James by the grace of God, king of Scottis, till all and sundry our leiges and sudictis to quhais knawledge yir oure letres sall cume greting.

"Foralsmykle as we ar informit be oure well belovettis the provest and communite of Edynburgh, yat yai dreid the evil and skeith of oure ennemies of England, we have in favour of yame, and for the zele and affectioune that we have to the provest and communite of oure said burgh, and fore the commoune proffit, grauntit to thaim full licence and leiff to fosse, bulwark, wall, toure, turate, and uther wais to strength oure forsaids burgh, in quhat maner of wise or degre, that beis seme maste spedefull to thaim.

"Given under our grete seale at Stryvelyn, the last day of Aprill; and of oure regne, the thretene yhere, anno 1450."

Bristow Port was one of the nine gates which formerly existed in the Town wall, but like the rest of them has long since been taken down; part of the wall in which the gate was inserted may still be seen, and some old buildings are yet standing that were probably coeval with it. The gate stood at the end of Candlemaker Row, a street leading directly to the Grass Market, and it opened a way to the south-eastern suburbs of the city.

CALTON HILL.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
BOMBAY BRANCH

THE CALTON HILL.

In this view, which was taken from the bottom of Halkerton's Wynd, the Calton Hill is exhibited to the greatest advantage. The attention is first attracted by lady Glenorchy's Chapel and the Trinity College Church, which are situated in the vale below; part of the former is seen in shade on the left hand extremity of the print, and the latter appears a principal object in the centre; these are well contrasted with the adjacent hill and with each other. The one is a plain modern structure, and the other an ancient and massive pile. Upon the hill on the left hand is seen Hume's Monument rising above the walls of the burying ground; further to the right the top of the Observatory just appears: near the centre the tower-like structure, appropriated to the governor of the prison, is elevated on the verge of a dark and perpendicular rock; this is part of the new prison buildings, the walls and turrets of which extend to the north and east, and terminate in the latter direction by the spacious though unadorned buildings of Bridewell. On the side of the prison we have a view of Nelson's Monument in the distance, upon which is raised a flag towering above every other object. Its site is another precipitous rock, stretching apparently towards the eastern extremity of Bridewell. These buildings form a group of objects possessing much beauty and interest, and when taken in connection with the elevated appearance, and many natural recommendations of the place on which they are situated, as well as with the surrounding scenery, certainly afford a most enchanting view.

The Calton-hill has been greatly improved of late by the

judicious and tasteful manner in which it has been laid out in walks, and is now a favourite resort of the inhabitants, as it presents the most agreeable diversity of prospects, particularly impressive to one who for the first time enjoys a sight of the metropolis of Scotland. It must, however, strike every person with wonder, that there should not have been a better selection of buildings upon this hill. A Bridewell and Prison do not suggest the most pleasing ideas to the spectator, even though he should in this case appreciate their external aspect, and the benefit which accrues to the health of their inhabitants from the excellence of the situation. This dislike will more especially be produced, after the new approach by the Regent bridge is finished; and should the plan of placing a statue of Wellington on the east side of the Hill be persisted in, rather than that of raising a triumphal arch, which would contribute so greatly to the grandeur and beauty of this part of the town, this incongruity of objects will be still increased.

From the summit of Calton Hill, Edinburgh appears spread beneath like a map with the town of Leith in its vicinity. Eastward along the southern side of the Frith of Forth, is seen Musselburgh and other small towns. The isle of May, the high hill at the junction of the Frith, with the German ocean, and the Bass rock, are all conspicuous from this elevation.

CANONGATE CHURCH.

CANONGATE CHURCH.

This Church, which is in the form of a cross, is situated in a recess of the Canongate, adjoining the jail; it is rather a dull structure, though its front, as seen in the annexed view, is somewhat ornamented. Over the door, in this part of the building, there is a pediment supported by four pillars, forming a portico. On the point of the roof is a deer's head, with a cross between its horns, being an emblem of an absurd legend respecting David I. who was said to have been saved from the assaults of a stag, by the falling of a cross from Heaven. There is a large burying-ground to the north of the Church.

In ancient times the inhabitants of the Canongate parish met, for religious services, in the abbey church of Holy-rood: but James VII. converting that place to other purposes, they were obliged to repair to lady Yester's church; but the inconvenience of these circumstances was not long felt, as the erection of a new church was soon after commenced.

About the year 1649, one Thomas Moodie had bequeathed, for the founding of a church in some part of the city, a large sum of money, which not having been applied to its intended object, had, in the course of twenty years, necessarily increased very much. The town-council, to whom this money had been entrusted, were now called upon to fulfil the pious intentions of the donor. A piece of ground was accordingly purchased for a church and church-yard, and the erection of the former began in the year 1688, and was completed at the expense of £2400 sterling.

In the cemetery attached to the Church there are several monuments in honour of departed genius and excellence. There is one to the memory of George Drummond, esq. six times provost of Edinburgh; another to the celebrated Adam Smith, author of the Wealth of Nations; but the most remarkable is

that of Ferguson, the poet. This consists of a simple stone, placed perpendicularly. On one side are the words, "By special grant of the managers to Robert Burns, who erected this stone, this burial-place is to remain for ever sacred to the memory of Robert Ferguson;" and, on the other side, is this inscription: "Here lies Robert Ferguson, poet, born September 5, 1751; died October 16, 1774.

"No sculptured marble here, nor pompous lay,
No storied urn, nor animated bust;
This simple stone directs pale Scotia's way,
To pour her sorrows o'er her poet's dust!"

Over this monument has been placed a tribute to Burns himself, with this inscription:—To the memory of Robert Burns, the Airshire bard—

"O Robbie Burns, the man, the brither,
And art thou gone, and gone for ever;
And hast thou cross'd that unknown river,
Life's dreary bound,
Like thee where shall we find anither,
The world around?

"Go to your sculptur'd tombs, ye great!
In a' the tinsel trash of state;
But, by thy honest turf I'll wait,
Thou man of worth:
And weep the sweetest poet's fate,
E'er liv'd on earth."

Latterly the following additional inscriptions have also been placed on this tomb:—

"Dignum laudi virum, Musa vetuit mori."

"Let Genius proudly, while to Fame she turns,
Twine Currie's laurels with the wreath of Burns."

The Church of Canongate was lately repaired at an expense of £2000 sterling.

Drawn, Etch.d & Pub.d by J.M.L. Stone, Argyll Street, Portobello, Decem.r 3.d 1818

CANONGATE TOLBOOTH.

CANONGATE TOLBOOTH.

This building consists of a prison and court-room. In the former there are nine apartments, to which the access is by a dark and narrow stair. The rooms, however, are tolerably neat and clean, and as well aired as the nature of the situation will admit. The building is as old as the time of James VI. by whose order it was constructed, as would appear by the inscription on its front,—"J. R. 6. Justitia et Pietas validæ sunt principis arces." The prison-department is now employed for the incarceration of those debtors who are of the better ranks of life; and they are supported here by their creditors. The establishment is regulated by suitable laws, and is under the superintendance of a person who is called the captain, and who sells malt-liquors for the use of the prisoners, no spirits being allowed to be sold or drunk in the house. He has, besides this, a salary, which at one time was raised by a contribution from each prisoner, but is now stated, and paid by the town. The Prison, viewed from the street, presents a tower surmounted by a small spire; upon the angles of the tower are two turrets, and from its centre a clock projects over the street. The entrance is by a flight of steps immediately over a round-headed gateway, which is a common thoroughfare to the back of the Canongate.

The Canongate, situated at the eastern or lower end of the city, is about half a mile in length, and terminated on one hand by the High Street, and on the other by Holyrood-house. We read of its existence so early as the time of David I. who added it to Edinburgh, and conferred on its inhabitants the same privileges as were enjoyed by those of that city. It de-

rives its name from the Canons of Holyrood-house. Various privileges were granted to its inhabitants by the successors of David, who gave them the Common-Moor lying between Broughtar and Pilsigg, the annuities payable at the exchequer by the burgh, together with all the liberties and immunities belonging to a burgh of regality. The burgesses were permitted to sell bread, ale, and other staple commodities; to have bakers and other tradesmen to supply the market, and carry on commerce; to elect annually two or three baillies, with a proper number of officers for the administration of justice within the burgh; and to hold courts, both civil and criminal, the fines arising from which to be employed in the service of the town. In the independent enjoyment of these privileges the inhabitants continued till the Reformation, when the magistrates of Edinburgh bought the superiority of Canongate from the earl of Roxburgh. This was confirmed by a charter of Charles I.

This regality, in subordination to Edinburgh, is now governed by a baron-baillie, elected by the common council of Edinburgh. He appoints persons in that district to be his substitutes, who are called resident-baillies, and who hold courts for petty-offences, and for the discussion of civil causes.

Drawn, Engd & Pubd by J. H. Sherer, Chapel Street, Pentonville, Sept. 1820.

CHARLOTTE SQUARE.

CHARLOTTE SQUARE.

The improvements and the additions which have been made in the city of Edinburgh within the last half century, have been matters of very general admiration; for previously, the city occupied the same space of ground which it had done for several centuries. The present generation, however, has witnessed not only great alterations in the ancient city, but the erection of an entirely new town, so superior to the former, that no comparison can be admitted.

The magistrates and the trustees appointed by parliament for the improvement of Edinburgh, procured an act in 1767 for the extension of the royalty over the fields towards the north, and plans were immediately advertised for, and every measure taken to secure the uniformity of the New Town which was now projected; from among the plans sent in, that of Mr. James Craig was selected, and finally adopted. The work was commenced without delay, and the buildings proceeded so rapidly, that in 1778 St. Andrew's Square, and the streets connected with it, were nearly finished. The plan provided by Mr. Craig terminating on the north by Queen Street and on the south by Princes Street being completed, Mr. Robert Adam produced a design for the extension of the town westward, which was realized by the erection of Charlotte Square, a specimen of the architecture of which appears in the accompanying plate. This Square is considered the handsomest in the New Town; and its beauty would have been much enhanced had St. George's Church been raised according to the plan laid down by Mr. Adam. It has been observed, that he designed the Church and the Square as a corresponding whole, and the

deviation from his plan by erecting the Church as it now stands, has entirely defeated the unity of his intention; but notwithstanding the justness of this criticism, the Square presents altogether a most imposing example of architectural magnificence. On the north and west it commands most delightful prospects over lands richly varied, ornamented by noble mansions, and bounded by the water of Leith, which may be seen (by referring to the plate) through the opening afforded by Charlotte Street.

In proof of the rapid refinement which has taken place among the principal inhabitants of Edinburgh, and, consequently, of the necessity of an entirely new mode of building for their convenience, it may be observed, that in 1763 people of fashion lived in houses which twenty years afterwards were inhabited by tradesmen, or people in humble and ordinary life. The house of the lord justice clerk, Tinewald, was possessed by a French teacher; lord president Craigie's house by a rouping wife, or dealer in old furniture; and lord Drummond's house was deserted by a chatwoman as unsuitable and incommodious.

Drawn Engd & P. by W. H. Pyne Oct.r 1st 1808 Pentonville April 1st 1811

CHARITY WORKHOUSE.

CHARITY WORKHOUSE.

The Charity Workhouse, situated near Bristow Port, is a large plain building, and was built in the year 1743, the expence being defrayed by voluntary contributions. It accommodates persons of both sexes, as well as children: such as are able to work, are allowed twopence out of every shilling that they earn, besides their clothing and maintenance. The principal funds for the support of the house, are a tax of £5 per cent. on the valued rents of the city, collections at the church doors, charitable donations, and the contributions of the citizens. The government of the charity is principally under the direction of the magistrates of Edinburgh; besides other officers, there is a treasurer, chaplain, and surgeon. In 1778, the number of poor maintained here was 664, and 890 in the year 1818; an increase by no means so great as might have been expected, considering the extreme pressure of the present times. Arnot observes, "that workhouses are the most uncomfortable for the poor, the most productive of vice, and the most expensive to the public of any mode of provision invented for the indigent, because they strip the mind alike of every motive to action and source of pleasure. The idle are provided for, and most of the fruits of the industrious goes to the hospital. When people labour under bodily distress, disabling them from work, and, at the same time, are reduced to poverty, almost the only pleasure they can enjoy is from a reciprocal exercise of the social duties and affections. Now, in a charity workhouse, these are almost completely eradicated. Farewell friends and family, parents and children. Instead of these, the pauper finds himself in a motley crowd of

the profligate and the good; he can no longer gratify these tender feelings, nor reap from them, in return, those kind offices, which his age, his infancy, or his disease, renders so requisite. He breathes the noxious air of an hospital, and be his appetite keen or weak, be he in health or sickness, the quality and proportion of food allowed him are generally the same. How destructive, in particular, a public hospital is to infants, needs not to be pointed out. It is most expensive to the public, for, notwithstanding all the frugality that is studied, it is found, that the persons in the house, young and old, cost, at an average, £4. 10*s*. yearly. Now a journeyman in Edinburgh, unless of the better sort, rarely earns more than £14 a year: suppose him married, and that he has three children, and this surely is no extraordinary case, out of the £14 must be deducted £2 for house rent and public burthens; and from the remaining £12, his family, of five persons, is maintained: that is to say, an industrious man can make shift to live comfortably upon £2. 8*s*. a year for his family overhead; whereas a public beggar is uncomfortably supported upon £4. 10*s*."

LIBRARY
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC

Drawn Engd & Pubd by J & H.S. Storer Chapel Street Pentonville Sept.r 1819.

COUNTY HALL.

(Lawn Market)

COUNTY HALL.

This elegant structure, which is just completed, stands in that part of the High Street called the Lawn Market, on the north-west corner of Parliament Square. It was designed by Mr. Archibald Eliott, and executed by Mr. John Inglis.

On the 6th of October, 1818, the Michaelmas Head Court of the county of Edinburgh, was held for the first time in the New County Hall, in the court room, which is neatly fitted up for the business of the county. It is forty-three feet and a half long, by twenty-nine feet wide, and twenty-six feet in height, having a gallery at the south end. The other principal room is for the meetings of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county, and is fifty feet long, by twenty-six and a half wide; its height is twenty-six feet, being a very elegant apartment at the north end of the building. There is besides accommodations not only for the Sheriff, but for every person connected with the public affairs of the county. The exterior of the building eastward, is ornamented with a beautiful portico; the pediment is supported by four fluted columns, with finely carved capitals, and the entrance is ascended to by a handsome flight of steps.

This splendid building is a great improvement to the High Street, particularly as the old and dreary prison of the Tolbooth has been taken down during the period of its erection; other beneficial alterations are likewise in progress in its immediate neighbourhood: the shops which obstructed the south side of St. Giles's Cathedral are removed, and a complete reparation of the church is intended, agreeably to an elegant plan, submitted to the town council by Mr. Elliott, architect.

The building that appears on the left hand side of the plate is occupied as libraries, by the *advocates* and *writers to the signet.*

The faculty of advocates are a society of lawyers, similar to the English inns of court; every advocate at his admission pays to the society about £150 sterling, part of which sum is applied to the support of their library, which is one of the most valuable in Scotland. The writers to the signet, who practice as attornies before the Courts of Session and Justiciary, are likewise required before admission into the society, to pay £10 to the library, previously to which they must have served an apprenticeship of five years to one of the members, and have attended the university two years.

Drawn, Engr.d & Pub.d by J. & H. S. Storer Sharpe Street Pentonville Dec.r 1818

CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE.

CRAIGMILLAR CASTLE.

This Castle stands on a rising ground about three miles south of Edinburgh, of which city it commands a fine view; the form of it is square, surrounded by a rampart wall of the height of 30 feet, ornamented with corbels at each corner, terminated by a round tower. The inner part of the Castle is of considerable dimensions and very lofty; upon the principal entrance there is the date 1427: within the building are many apartments, which have in general the gloomy appearance incident to ancient castles; none of them are large, excepting the hall, which is 36 feet in length and 22 in breadth. No certain account is to be obtained when this fortress was erected, but there is reason to believe that the greater part of it is not of high antiquity, for Craigmillar suffered a similar fate with Roslin and Leith, which were burnt and plundered by an army, which Henry VIII. sent into Scotland in 1554, out of enmity to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, who disappointed the intentions he had conceived of connecting his son Edward with the young queen. The architecture itself favours such a conjecture, being finished in a manner correspondent with that age. On the return of queen Mary from the court of France, she made this one of the places of her residence, and her suit being accommodated with lodging at a village in that neighbourhood, it was from that circumstance denominated Petit France, a name which it still retains.

The earliest possessor of Craigmillar on record is William Fitz-Henry, of whom there is extant a charter of gift to the monastery of Dunfermline, dated so early as the year 1212; it was afterwards in the hands of John de Capella, and then became the property of the family of Preston, who enjoyed it for nearly

300 years. Craigmillar has several times been inhabited by different branches of the royal family of Scotland: king James V. in his minority resided here, leaving Edinburgh castle on account of an epidemical distemper in the year 1520; and in this place frequent interviews were had between him and the dowager queen, during the absence of his governor, the duke of Albany, in France; but it has occasionally been used as a place of confinement, Robert earl of Mar, the youngest son of James III. being kept in durance here a long time.

The armorial bearings of the different families, in affinity to the Prestons, are carved on various parts of the edifice, and over a small gate is an escutcheon of arms, containing three unicorns' heads, the coat of Preston, together with a rebus answerable to the name, being a wine-press and a ton. This family has been of much note in Scotland, and during their residence at Craigmillar, frequently filled the principal offices of the magistracy in the capital. In the reign of Charles I. two gentlemen of this name were created baronets of Nova Scotia. At the latter end of the last century, the estate and castle became vested in the ancestors of the late sir Alexander Gilmour, bart. but it has long been disused as their seat; the premises are now occupied as a farm yard: queen Mary's apartment is still pointed out to strangers, in one of the highest turrets; its dimensions are unusually contracted, it being only seven feet long and five broad. Mr. Grose remarks, that among the many rooms shewn as having been occupied by this unhappy queen, as well in England as in Scotland, most of them are such as a servant would now almost refuse to lodge in.

In June 1813, a human skeleton was found here, enclosed in an upright position in a crevice of the vaulting of the castle; upon being exposed it presently crumbled into dust.

Drawn by & Pub.d by J.M.W.Turner Chapel Street Pentonville Sept.r 1.1810

CUSTOM HOUSE.

(Leith.)

ROYAL ASIATIC LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ASIATIC

CUSTOM HOUSE, LEITH.

This extensive building, which contains also the Excise Office, stands on the north side of the harbour: it was erected in 1812, at the expense of about £12,617. The customs at this port of Leith appear to have increased very considerably of late years; in proofs of which, in 1817, no less than 480 vessels arrived here with cargoes from foreign parts, the number being 261 more than had arrived in the year preceding. In one day forty vessels came into the harbour, and eleven more into the roads, from foreign parts, freighted with grain.

After the defeat of Buonaparte, in Russia, two vessels arrived at Leith, laden with broken muskets, barrels, locks, &c. the warlike spoil of the Russian campaign, and such as were damaged by the fire at Moscow. When the extraordinary events which preceded and followed the destruction of Moscow, commanded the almost undivided attention of Europe, no one would have contemplated, that in the short space of three years, the sword would have been turned into the ploughshare; but it is a fact, that within that time, at the iron works at Cromond in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, the workmen were employed in hammering these warlike spoils, and giving them the peaceful forms of ploughshares and pruning hooks.

The docks near the Custom House, which have recently been constructed, are very commodious. The trade of Leith had long suffered great inconvenience from the want of a basin, where the shipping of the port might lie afloat at all times of the tide; various plans had been proposed at different times to remedy this defect, which at length induced the magistrates and council of Edinburgh to obtain an act of parliament in 1778, em-

powering them to borrow 30,000*l.* for the purpose of constructing a basin or wet dock, of seven English acres, above the dam of the saw mills at Leith; a lock at Sheriff-bræ; and a canal of communication between the lock and basin. This plan, however, was ultimately abandoned; and application was again made to parliament to empower the magistrates to borrow £160,000, to construct an extensive range of docks, stretching from the north pier of Leith to Newhaven, with an entrance at each of these places.

The eastern wet dock, next to the tide harbour of Leith, was began in 1800 and completed in 1806; and the middle dock was finished about eight years afterwards. Each of these docks is 250 yards long, and 100 in width, both amounting to more than ten English acres of water, and sufficient to contain 150 ships of the ordinary classes that frequent the port. All the works about these docks have been constructed of the best materials, in a very substantial manner; under the immediate superintendance of Mr. John Paterson, resident engineer; after the design of John Rennie, esq. A light house with reflectory lamps, is erected at the mouth of the harbour; and another with a revolving light, on the small island of Inchkeith, in the middle of the Frith of Forth, about four miles from Leith.

Drawn, Engd & Pubd by J. & H.S. Storer, Chapel Street, Penzance, Dec.r 1818.

DEAF AND DUMB INSTITUTION,

(Canongate)

LIBRARY
OF THE
RIJKSMUSEUM
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC

DEAF AND DUMB INSTITUTION.

This valuable and truly benevolent asylum, was established on the 25th of June, 1810. It provides a most important palliative for those great defects of nature, which would otherwise consign many unhappy objects to a rank in existence scarcely human. Independently of moral and religious instruction, the children are taught to read and write their native language, and many of them to compose in it with elegance and facility; and even to give it some degree of articulation. They are also taught arithmetic, and such other branches of science as may qualify them for the stations for which they are destined. The pupils who are of the lower classes of society, are trained to habits of industry, and taught useful trades. All the females are taught sewing: and other branches of education peculiar to the sex are attended to according to the rank of the pupils; those of inferior station are taught by the mistress of the house to make themselves useful in every domestic concern. Many of the boys have been instructed in the art of shoe-making, and a stock of their fabrication is always kept for sale at the house.

The number of children usually accommodated here is about fifty. A few years since Mr Kinniburgh, whose exertions and success in teaching these pitiable objects cannot be too highly appreciated, visited Glasgow with several of his pupils, for the purpose of a public examination, and the effect was, that an auxiliary society was immediately formed, whose contributions have enabled the managers to receive an additional number to partake of the benefits of this humane establishment.

Arnot observes, that "the art of teaching the deaf and

dumb, was first attempted at Edinburgh by Mr. Braidwood, in the year 1764; he began with a single pupil, but the number was soon increased by the arrival of many from England, and some from America. He commenced by learning the deaf articulation, or the use of their vocal organs, and at the same time taught them to write the characters and compose words of them; he next shewed them the use of words in expressing visible objects and their qualities, and proceeded afterwards to instruct them in the grammatical construction of language. Mr. Braidwood remarked, that the deaf find great difficulty in attaining pronunciation, but still more in acquiring a proper knowledge of written language. Their only method of conversing is by signs and gestures, their ideas are few, being entirely confined to visible objects, and to the passions, or senses; the former of which they delineate by figures, the latter by gestures. The connection between our ideas and written language being purely arbitrary, it is a very hard task to give the deaf any notion of that mode of conversing, theirs being only hieroglyphical. Another and still greater difficulty is, to enable them to comprehend the meaning of the figurative part of language; for instance, they soon understand *high, low, hard, tender, clear, cloudy, &c.* when applied to matter, but have not the smallest conception of these qualities when applied to mind."

The annexed View shews part of Chessel's Buildings (in the Canongate), a portion of which is occupied by the Institution; the adjacent spaces afford room for the recreation of the boys.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
BOMBAY BRANCH

Drawn, Engr.d & Pub.d by Jas. H. Storer, Chapel Street, Pentonville, December 1.1808.

EPISCOPAL HOUSE,
and part of the Mint.

EPISCOPAL HOUSE AND PART OF THE MINT.

At the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd stand the remains of an episcopal palace, once the town residence of the archbishops of St. Andrew's. At present nothing remains of this edifice to distinguish it from the surrounding buildings, excepting some fragments of its ancient walls, and a singular projection of an octangular form standing at the angle of the Wynd and the Cowgate.

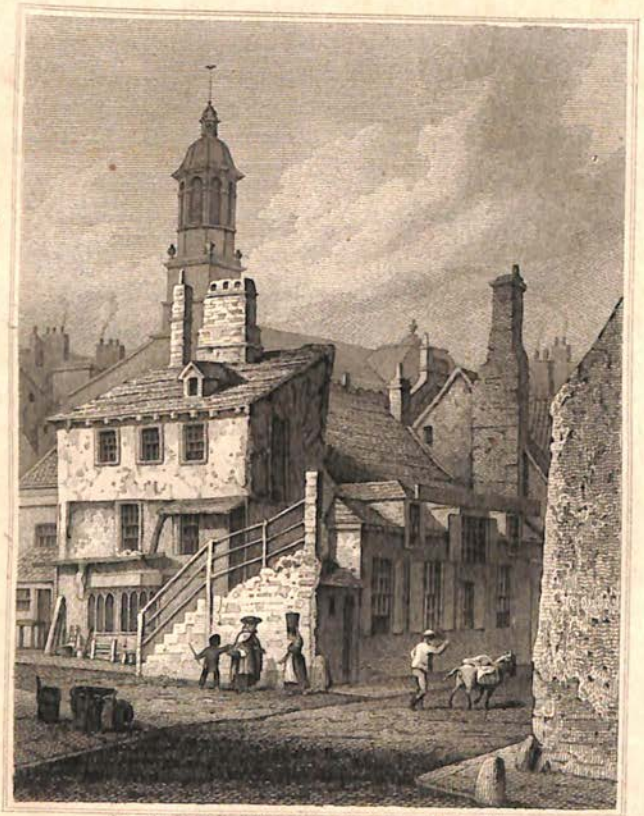
This palace is remarkable for being occupied by James Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrew's, in the reign of Charles II.; this furious churchman had been a presbyterian in his younger days, and was employed by that party to negotiate for them with the king, but he betrayed their interests and was rewarded for his perfidy with the primacy of the Scottish church; he was afterwards instrumental in inflicting many cruelties upon the presbyterians, and rendered himself so odious that an attempt was made by one Mitchell to assassinate him; but the archbishop at this time escaped, and though he affected after this greater lenity in his measures, he never gained the good opinion of his countrymen, and at length fell a victim to their vengeance, being murdered about three miles from St. Andrew's.

In the annexed view appears the antient entrance to the Mint, a large square-headed door studded with iron; the offices belonging to this establishment once formed a square, which at present exhibits a ruinous aspect, parts of it having been demolished by fire, in addition to the dilapidations of time. Over the door is the date 1574, together with the words "Be merciful unto me, O God." One of the entrances within the square is ornamented with a crown, and the initials

C. R. I.; the dates of 1674 and 1675 likewise appear in this part of the building. Two of the old instruments used here for coining are still preserved; but by the union of the two kingdoms the office was rendered unnecessary, though Maitland affirms that the "salaries of the officers did not then cease." The boundaries of the Mint like those of Holyrood House furnish an asylum for debtors. Edinburgh was first a place of mintage in the reign of William the Lion. In the time of Robert I. money was coined here, the pieces being small and having on them the words *Villa Edinbug*, thus shortened for want of space. In the reign of David II. it was frequently a place of mintage, the legend then was *Villa Edinburg*. Coining was very common here in the times of Roberts II. and III. on the obverse of their coins was the inscription, *Ville de Edinburgh*. Money was coined in Edinburgh in the reigns of James I. II. and III.

We are informed by Knox in his History of the Reformation, that owing to the immoderate profits made by the queen, and the injury to the country arising from the corruption of the money, it became necessary to put a stop to coining, and to secure "the printing irons," in case the queen might convey them to Dunbar. This enraged her, and sending for those of her faction, she declared to them, that the reformers by meddling with the coining-house, which was a portion of the patrimony of the crown, meditated the usurpation of the throne; and that they had appropriated large sums of money. To this charge the reformers, both by letters and by proclamation replied, that they did not mean to usurp the the throne, that they put a stop to the coining in order to prevent the hurt that might be sustained by the country, whose interests they were bound as counsellors both by duty and conscience to promote, and that they had not reserved to themselves the value of a farthing of the money, but had transmitted the whole of it to the master of the mint.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY



Drawn, Eng.d & Pub.d by J. & H. Storer. Chapel Street, Pentonville, Nov.r 1819

EPISCOPAL CHAPEL.

(from the Pleasants)

EPISCOPAL CHAPEL, COWGATE.

THE established religion in Scotland, which was episcopacy, being abolished in the year 1689, the clergymen of that persuasion, though they were tolerated to preach in meeting houses, had no legal provision for their support, till the year 1746. People, however, of all ranks were in the habit of frequenting these places of worship, and they were so little obnoxious, that the magistrates of some of the northern boroughs, attended them with the ensigns of their office. Nonjuring meeting houses being at length prohibited under severe penalties, it became necessary, to all who wished to show their attachment to government, to conform to the laws.

An episcopal chapel, whose minister was duly qualified by taking the oaths to government, had already been founded by lord chief baron Smith; but as it was not sufficient to accommodate those of that communion, two new ones were founded about the year above mentioned. These places of worship, being only mean and inconvenient apartments, too small for their congregations, a plan was formed for building a spacious chapel, capable of containing the hearers of the three episcopal chapels, collectively. A committee of gentlemen twelve in number being chosen, for carrying this purpose into effect, they purchased ground from the royal College of Physicians, and opened a subscription, which was the only resource they had for completing the building, the trifling funds belonging to the former chapels, bearing no proportion to the amount of so expensive a work; the first stone was laid by general sir Adolphus Oughton, then grand master of the fraternity of free-masons, in April,

1771. The building was carried on with so much spirit and activity, that it was opened for public worship, in October, 1774.

The chapel, is a plain, though handsome building, about ninety feet in length, and seventy-five in breadth; it is ornamented with a spire of moderate heighth, in which hangs an excellent bell, that formerly belonged to the royal chapel of Holyrood-house; this is permitted to be rung for assembling the congregation, an indulgence not allowed to the presbyterians in England; which circumstance displays a commendable liberality of sentiment in the magistrates of Edinburgh, who consider the dignity of their national church is not to be maintained by puerile jealousies.

This Chapel, contrary to the usual custom of building episcopal churches, stands due north and south, the altar is therefore placed on its eastern side, and stands within a niche, about thirty feet in extent; it is lighted by a venetian window, and adorned with several paintings taken from scripture history, viz. the ascension; Christ talking with the woman of Samaria; the prodigal's return; and two or three others, executed by Runciman, a native of Edinburgh. The funds being exhausted, this chapel was left in an unfinished state, two porticos being wanted to complete the design; £6000 was expended upon its erection, besides £800 that was paid for the area on which it stands. The choice of ground for its erection was injudiciously made, it being very low, and the neighbouring houses so close as to conceal the building; the access, especially for carriages, is likewise extremely inconvenient.

The view is taken from the Cowgate, near the corner of St. Mary's Wynd; this place is remarkable on account of the defeat of the count of Namure, who in approaching to the assistance of Edward III. then laying at Perth, proposed to pass through Edinburgh, but was encountered in its neighbourhood by the earl of Moray, and his army of foreigners entirely routed; many of the fugitives retiring through St. Mary's Wynd, were met in that narrow lane by some forces under sir David d'Anand, and suffered great slaughter.

Drawn, Engd & Pubd by J.B.M.S. Storer, Chapel Street, Pentonville, Jan.y 1, 1819.

EXCISE OFFICE.

(St. Andrews Square.)

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS

EXCISE OFFICE.

This elegant structure stands on the east side of St. Andrew's Square, retiring a considerable distance from the regular line of the buildings. The space in front of it is occupied by a neat grass plat, and a gravelled walk; the house commands a fine view across St. Andrew's Square, through the whole length of George Street, which is half a mile in extent, to the newly erected church, on the west side of Charlotte Square. The building has a rusticated basement, with a pediment in front, which is supported by four composite pilasters. The tympanum of the pediment is adorned with the arms of his Britannic majesty. This edifice was erected by the late sir Lawrence Dundas, member of parliament for the city, and was designed for a family residence; but his son, lord Dundas, sold it to government, who have appropriated it to its present purpose.

The office of excise was formerly kept in the Cowgate, where it was under the management of five commissioners, who had each a salary of £500 sterling. At present there are, besides the commissioners, a secretary, and a number of inferior managers and officers in connection with this establishment.

The excise laws, as regulated in 1784, excited great discontent in Scotland; and the heritors of many of the counties published resolutions expressive of their abhorrence, at being called upon to perform the degrading office of spies and assistants to the inferior officers of excise: they being obliged by the provisions of parliament, to make good the penalties incurred by offenders, over whom they had no control; and

this when they might be absent in the service of their country, under age, or otherwise incapable of acting for themselves. Such was the opinion of the general unpopularity of the excise, that when in 1642, aspersions were cast by malignant persons upon the house of commons, that they intended to introduce excises, the house, for its vindication, declared, that these rumours were false and scandalous, and that the authors should be apprehended, and brought to condign punishment. In the following year, however, the excise was first established; its progress was gradual, being at first laid upon those persons and commodities where it was supposed the hardships would be least perceivable.

The royalists, at Oxford, soon followed the example of their brethren at Westminster, by imposing similar duties; both sides protesting that they should be continued no longer than to the end of the war, and then be utterly abolished. The parliament at Westminster soon extended the operation of the excise, till it might fairly be denominated general, in pursuance of a plan laid down by Mr. Pym (who has the honour of being the father of this inexorable impost), in a letter to sir John Hotham, signifying, that they had proceeded in the excise to many particulars, and intended to go on further, but that it would be necessary to use the people to it by little and little; and afterwards, when the nation had been accustomed to it for a series of years, the succeeding champions of liberty, boldly and openly declared the excise to be the most easy and productive levy that could be laid upon the people, and accordingly continued it during the whole usurpation.

GILLESPIE'S HOSPITAL.

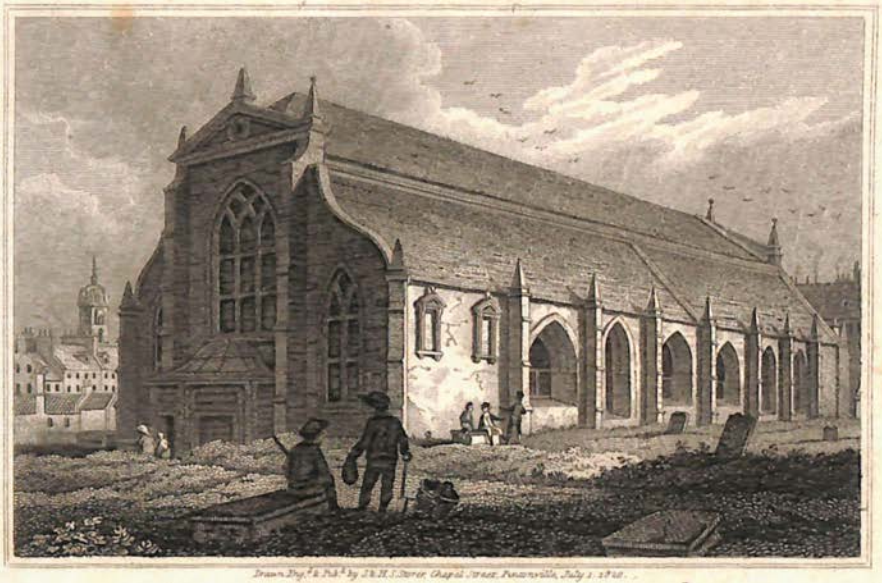
GILLESPIE'S HOSPITAL.

This Hospital stands at the west end of Burntsfield Links; it is a large and commodious building of hewn stone; the form is oblong, exhibiting in the centre a low tower, which, as well as the rest of the building, is embattled and ornamented with small turrets upon every angle. It was erected from a design by Mr. Burn, architect, and though it has been thought not well adapted to the simple purposes of such an institution, it is highly creditable to his professional taste; its situation is such as to command a very agreeable prospect of the country to the south-west of Edinburgh. The charity takes its name from the founder, a merchant, who dying in 1797, left the greater part of a large fortune, which he had acquired by an extensive trade in snuff and tobacco, to be applied to the erection and endowment of an hospital and school, the former for the reception of aged persons, and the latter for the education of one hundred boys. For these purposes the trustees, who are the master, twelve assistants, and treasurer of the merchant's company, the dean of Guild, the four old baillies, and the ministers of the Tolbooth church, purchased Burntsfield castle, or Wryte's house, with the adjoining park and gardens, and having taken down the old building, which was inadequate to the objects of the institution, they erected the present structure, which was opened in the year 1802.

Mr. Gillespie's landed estates, together with £12,000 out of his personal property, were conveyed to the governors in the space of one year from his death, and after the payment of certain legacies and annuities, the remaining part of his property was to be applied in the same manner. According to the will of

Mr. Gillespie, and the regulations drawn up by the trustees, it is provided, that those who are admitted shall not be under fifty-five years of age, have a good character, being poor, and having no assistance from other charities, and that they shall be preferred according to the following order: first, Mr. Gillespie's servants; persons of his name; inhabitants of Edinburgh and its suburbs; persons in Leith and other parts of the county of Midlothian; and, lastly, natives of Scotland; only forty-two aged persons are to be admitted. The boys received for education, must likewise be poor, and not more than twelve, nor under six years of age; they are taught English, writing, and arithmetic, and attention is paid to their morals and religious principles.

The governors were required to elect Mr. William Gillespie, treasurer of the hospital, and the son of Dr. Gillespie to be its surgeon; the duties of clerk and porter were to be discharged by those who held the same offices under the merchant company. For the support of the school £2000 was set apart, payable within a year after the death of the testator, and the interest to be used for the maintenance of the master, and such persons as might be requisite to assist him. A school room and other accommodations for the teachers, were provided from a separate fund of £700. At present there are forty-three aged persons in the house, being one more than the regulations allow, and about seventy children attend the school. The domestics employed here, are a housekeeper, chaplain, a gardener, and four maid servants; the latter are allowed to sell to occasional visitors, the produce of their industry in knitting, &c.



Drawn, Engr.d & Pub.d by D.H. Steven Chapel Street, Penzance, July 1. 1818.

GREY FRIARS CHURCH.

GREY FRIARS CHURCH.

The Church of the Grey Friars was founded in the year 1612, upon a spot of ground, which was formerly part of the garden belonging to the monastery of Grey Friars, situated in the Grass Market. The tower of this church having been used as the city magazine for gunpowder, was accidentally blown up in 1718, and other parts of the building much damaged. The magistrates instead of repairing it, built on its western end an entirely new church; the foundation was laid in 1719, and the work completed in 1721, at the expense of £3045. It is separated from the old church by a partition wall, and received the name, which it still retains, of the New Grey Friars Church. Both of these churches are under one roof, and have lately been new seated and repaired. The celebrated Dr. Robinson was for many years one of the ministers of the Old Grey Friars Church.

In the burial ground around these churches, lie the remains of several eminent men; among whom are, the first Latin poet of modern times, George Buchanan: Sir George Mackenzie, the well-known Scottish lawyer: the great Dr. Archibald Pitcairne: the elegant historian of Charles V. the late principal Robertson: and the celebrated improver of modern chemistry, Dr. Black.

This burial ground has for a long time been the subject of much observation and complaint, when the magistrates first applied for this spot to be converted into a cemetery, it lay at a small distance from the town, but it is now surrounded with buildings, and is so overcharged with interments as to

give some alarm on account of the pestiferous effluvia which it must emit. Arnot, who wrote more than forty years ago, says, "such multitudes have been interred in the Grey Friars churchyard, that it is equally humiliating and disgusting, to behold its surface raised so much above the level of the adjacent ground, merely by what was once the organs of rational beings, and susceptible of pleasure and pain. The graves are so crowded upon each other, that the sextons frequently cannot open a grave without encroaching upon one not fit to be touched.

"How soon this spot will be so surcharged with animal juices and oils, that becoming one mass of corruption its noxious steams will burst forth with the fury of a pestilence, we shall not pretend to determine; but we will venture to say, the effects of this burying ground would, ere now, have been severely felt, were it not, that besides the coldness of the climate, they have been checked by the acidity of the coal smoke, and the height of the winds, which in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh blow with extraordinary violence."

PLATE OPPOSITE.

Drawn, Eng.d & Pub.d by J. B.S. Storer, Chapel Street, Pentonville, Oct. 1820.

LIBRARY
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY
GAELIC SOCIETY

HAWTHORNDEN.

On the banks of the Esk (which enters the sea at Musselburgh), upon a perpendicular rock, stands the ancient mansion of Hawthornden; the period of its first erection is now involved in obscurity, and little, if any thing, remains of the original structure. Its name occurs upon record as far back as the year 1433, but it is supposed to have existed long prior to that date. The scenery around the site, as well as that along the whole course of the river, is romantic and beautiful beyond description, and may be contemplated with almost unwearied delight.

The buildings consist of a large vaulted tower, grafted upon the rock; a gateway apparently of more modern construction, and a dwelling-house. In the upper part of the tower a plane-tree is growing of very considerable size; the gateway is probably of longer standing than the dwelling house; its iron gate has not long been removed. The portion of the building which is now inhabited, was partly rebuilt by William Drummond, of Hawthornden, the celebrated historian and poet, in the year 1638. Mr. Drummond spent the greater part of his life in this retired abode, and here wrote his history of the Jameses, and his poems. Under, and near the mansion, are two ranges of caves, scooped out of the rock, probably used to secure the people and their effects in the wars between the Scots and English.

In the face of the rock are seen the loop-holes and windows of the caves, from which in 1341, the brave sir Alexander Ramsey and his companions often sallied out in their perdatory excursions against the English invaders. Ramsey, one of the

most celebrated generals of his day, was rewarded for his services, with the government of Roxburgh and county of Teviotdale; but this promotion excited the envy and resentment of lord William Douglas, and he meditated the destruction of his rival. An opportunity was soon afterwards afforded; for Ramsey holding a council in the church of Havick, in Teviotdale, Douglas assaulted him there, wounded him, killed many of his domestics, and seizing his person, committed him prisoner to the castle of Hermitage, and there in the most cruel and barbarous manner, starved him to death. Douglas absconded to avoid punishment; but the regent Stuart, not only procured his pardon, but put him in possession of the titles and honors of the person he had so basely murdered.

Drawn, Engd. & Pubd. by T. H. & J. Storer, Angel Street, Penton.ville, Feb.y 1.st 1812.

HERIOT'S HOSPITAL.

from Triot Row.

HERIOT'S HOSPITAL.

THIS HOSPITAL is pleasantly situated, a little to the south-east of the Castle, on a rising ground, which is interspersed with a few trees, and enclosed by a high wall. It is an irregular, but magnificent quadrangular edifice, and of the Gothic order. Its high angles are crowned with turrets, and it has 200 windows, all of them ornamented with various devices. The sides are each 40 feet long, and include a court of 94 feet square, which gently rises to the centre, in which there is a well. A tower containing a clock rises over the gateway, on the north side or front of the building; over this gateway are placed the arms of the founder, and his statue, in the costume of his age, occupies a niche within the quadrangle. The arms of Heriot, likewise, appear on a handsome portal, which leads from the Grass-Market into the grounds. On the south side of the square is the chapel, which projects so as to form a sort of wing in the rear of the Hospital, its floor is of white and black marble. It has been recently fitted up in a neat and even elegant style. A large hall, in which the boys assemble for meals, extends along the greatest part of the west side. Adjoining to it, and in the angle formed by it and the chapel, is the council-room, a very handsome apartment, adorned with a painting of Heriot, and pictures of two of the late treasurers. The school rooms, the apartments for the governor and teachers, the bed rooms, &c. fill up the remaining portion of the house. The kitchen was partly fitted up under the inspection of Count Rumford, during his late residence in this country.

George Heriot, the founder of this Hospital, was born in

Edinburgh, about the year 1561. His father being a goldsmith there, he was brought up to that business. He began trade with the sum of £214 : 11 : 8, which had been partly furnished by his father, and partly brought him by his wife. In 1597, he had the good fortune to be appointed goldsmith to the queen, and shortly after, goldsmith and jeweller to her husband James VI. on whose accession to the English throne, Heriot went to London. There in the course of a profitable profession, to which he gave unintermitting attention, he realized a large fortune, with part of which he made considerable purchases in the vicinity of the Scottish metropolis.

By his will he bequeathed to the ministers and magistrates of Edinburgh, all that portion of his property that should remain after debts, legacies, &c. had been paid, to be applied by them in the erection and endowment of an hospital for the maintenance and education of so many poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh, as the funds would allow.

For the fulfilment of these benevolent intentions, Sir John Hay, of Baro, who was afterwards clerk register, was appointed to arrange matters with the creditors of Heriot. The sum received from him by the governors, as appears from the statement of accompts between Sir John and them, and which was afterwards ratified by a decree of the court of session, was precisely £23,625 : 10 : 3½. the legacies, bad debts, &c. having been previously deducted.

On the 6th of February, a spot of land containing eight acres, called the *High Riggs*, and lying near the Grassmarket on the south, was purchased for 7,650 merks, and on July 1st of the same year was laid the foundation of the Hospital, which began to be built according to a plan, as is thought, of Inigo Jones. It was carried on till 1639, when, owing to the disturbances of that period, and the interception on that account of the revenues, the work was discontinued. It was resumed, however, in 1642, and completed in 1650, the whole expense amounting to the enormous sum, as it must have been at that time, of

HERIOT'S HOSPITAL.
from the Grafs Market.

£30,000 sterling; but, when finished, it was taken possession of, after the battle of Dunbar, by Oliver Cromwell, who employed it for eight years as an infirmary for his sick and wounded soldiers. In 1658, general Monk, at the request of the governors, and on being provided with other quarters for the soldiers, removed them from the Hospital, which, in consequence, was opened in the April of the following year for the sons of burgesses. Thirty boys were admitted at first; and, in a year after, five bursers were sent to college, with an allowance each of £5. In August that year, the number of boys was increased to forty, and in 1661 to fifty-two. In 1753 there were a hundred and thirty, in 1779 a hundred and ten, and at this time (October 1818,) there are a hundred and seventy-five.

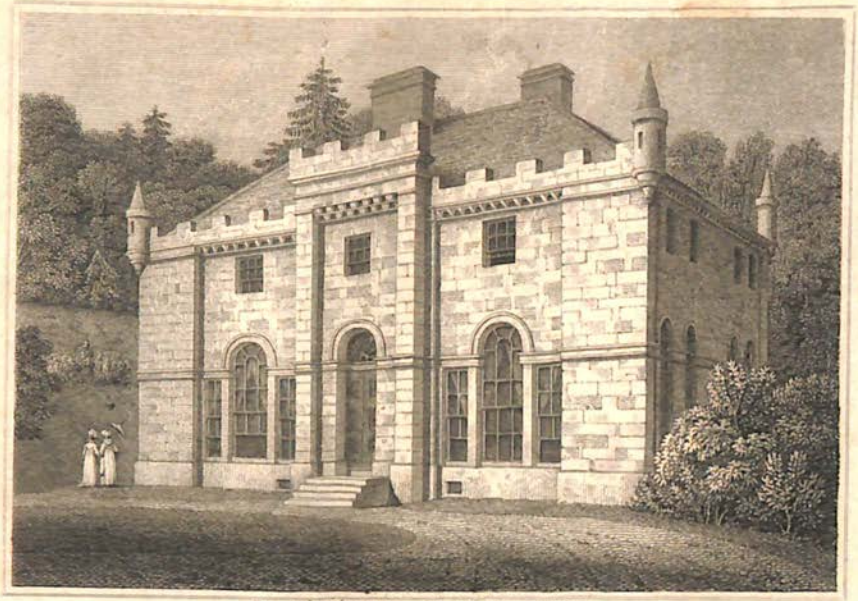
The Hospital is regulated by a series of statutes, which were drawn up by Dr. Balcanguel, one of Heriot's executors, and which, with the exception of some trifling articles, are very good. From these it appears, that "the master of the Hospital must be of so much learning as to be fit to teach the catechism;" "that there shall be chosen a man, unmarried, of honest report, to be porter of the Hospital, and that the said porter shall be a man of good strength, able to keep out all sturdy beggars and vagrant persons;" and "that there shall be a pair of stocks placed at the end of the hall, in which the master shall command to be laid any officer for any such offence, as, in his discretion, shall seem to deserve it."—It would appear, however, that these are not strictly enforced; for, on inquiring after the last-mentioned instruments of castigation, the writer of this was told that there were no such things. The election of boys takes place twice a year, on the second Monday of October, and on the third Monday of April. Poverty is a necessary qualification for the candidates; who must not be under seven years, nor above sixteen, at which age boys, who have been at the institution, are dismissed. They annually go in procession to the adjoining church, Blackfriars, on the

first Monday of June, when they hear a sermon from one of the ministers in the city, who take that duty according to the order of their seniority. On this occasion the statue of Heriot is decorated with flowers, and the boys have their best suits of clothes on, and flowers stuck in their hats: like the children of public hospitals, "Heriot's boys" wear a peculiar dress.

The superintendants of the Hospital are a house-governor, housekeeper, and schoolmasters, who, again, are under a treasurer. The subjects in which the boys are instructed, are reading, writing, arithmetic, and Latin. Those who wish to learn a trade, are furnished with £30 for an apprentice-fee, while a bounty of £120 is given to those who are qualified, and disposed to pursue any of the learned professions. While they continue in the Hospital, the average expense of each may be £48 per annum. The amount of the revenues for the support of this expense is variable, the rents being paid in grain. According to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, the annual revenue is £8500.

From this valuable institution have emanated many eminent men, and respectable citizens—persons who have been honoured and useful in different parts of the world, and in all ranks of life. Heriot! thy name stands high on the records of human benevolence, and "generations yet unborn shall arise and call thee blessed!"

The annexed view of Heriot's Hospital, taken from the Grass Market, shews the north and east fronts of the building; the view from Tiviot Row represents the opposite sides; in the distance of this view, on the right, appears part of Grey Friar's Church.



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HERMITAGE OF BRAID.

THE HERMITAGE OF BRAID.

This sequestered mansion, the residence of Mr. Gordon, is situated nearly three miles south-west from Edinburgh. It lies concealed in a narrow vale; the hills on either side are neither lofty nor regular, and being in general devoid of even a light soil, exhibit a barrenness which contributes greatly to enhance the beauty of the romantic scenery below. The grounds which are enclosed by a stone wall, are entered by a gate on the left hand side of the road, whence a path along the windings of a murmuring rivulet, conducts to the house. The path is about half a mile in length, and is cut through the deep shade of a

The Grange House

wood, which in some places is almost impervious to the light. The grounds are tastefully laid out, and present a variety of trees and shrubs, intermingled with beds of flowers. The house, though of moderate dimensions, has an elegant exterior, and the apartments are furnished with much splendour.

It has been observed, that the "Hermitage of Braid" is such a sweet sequestered abode, as an hermit might have sought for his cell; and its situation has certainly been chosen upon those principles of taste, which generally governed the selection of the recluse. Blackford Hill rises near it on one side; Pentland Heights overhang it at a short distance on the other; on the south-west are Braid Craigs. The Frith of Forth opens towards the east; north, and north-west are the City of Edinburgh, and some of its most interesting environs. The House of Grange (the subject of the Vignette), is about a mile from the Hermitage; it was once the residence of William Kirkaldy, a celebrated commander in the reign of queen Mary; it is likewise memorable for being the house in which Dr. Robinson, the historian, spent the last months of his life.

CONTENTS TO VOL. I.

History of Edinburgh, Political, Civil, and Ecclesiastical.

Regalia of Scotland, Vignette Title.

Albany Street Chapel.

Assembly Rooms.

Assembly Rooms, Leith.

Bank of Scotland.

Bank, Leith.

Black Friars' Wynd.

Blind Asylum.

Bristow Port.

Calton Hill.

Canongate Church.

Canongate Tolbooth.

Charlotte Square.

Charity Workhouse.

County Hall.

Craigmillar Castle.

Custom House, Leith.

Deaf and Dumb Institution.

Episcopal House.

Episcopal Chapel.

Excise Office.

Gillespie's Hospital.

Grey Friars' Church.

Hawthornden.

Heriot's Hospital.

Ditto from the Grass Market.

Hermitage of Braid.

Vignette Tail-piece.

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